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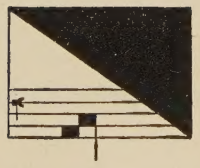
Editor

Gilbert Reaney
Assistant Editor



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* In a chronological order.

THE 'ARS NOVA' OF PHILIPPE DE VITRY

Variants from the Paris ms,
Bibl. Nat., lat. 18514

II, 6 ternarius ad binarium **7** quaternarius ad ternarium **8** ut novenarius ad octonarium

III, 3 tertio, et ponantur in tertio loco **5** Et sic per

IV, 12 secundo **14** quascumque **15** superioris *pro* superior inferioris ordinis *pro* inferiorem disponatur opponatur

V, 2 Si aliqua in quantitate abbrevietur, acuitur vel elevatur eius sonus **6** ab octavo G usque ad 12 D, sicut superius dictum est; et deinde ab 15 G usque ad 20, et ultra si possibilitas sit in voce, sed non est secundum usum nostrum

VI, 1 Certitudo passionum monochordi *pro* De operatione monochordi **10** octo *pro* ⌜ ad G depressum **12** item pro sed **14** est gamma

XIII, 1 dividi secundum diatonicum genus **4** si *om* ista, quae nomina vocum habent

XIV, 19, *Nota de semiditono* majori

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THE DATING AND THE NOTATION OF THE WORCESTER FRAGMENTS

LUTHER A. DITTMER

Concordances in other sources are of prime importance in the dating of the compositions in the Worcester fragments [1]. The concordances between the Worcester fragments and the extensive Montpellier manuscript were conclusively discussed by Handschin [2]; compositions from the Worcester fragments are represented in both the earlier and later fascicles of this manuscript apparently in a later form. Bukofzer [3] had ignored the concordances with the 4th fascicle of the Montpellier manuscript and had cited only the concordance with *Mo VIII 339,* which composition Rokseth [4] had dated as "vers la fin du siècle". We must be cautious in accepting Bukofzer's dating of some of the compositions of the Worcester fragments since he felt that mensural music was "not possible before 1280" and that "English mensural music was only in vogue ca. 1300".

The concordances between the index [5] of a lost manuscript of Reading provenience and the Worcester fragments are discussed in an article of mine [6]; they conclusively substantiate a date of about 1280 for a large group of compositions. Unfortunately the Worcester annals contain no pertinent direct reference to musical activity during the time in question but there is an indirect reference in the year 1292 [7].

From among the paleographic facts which support a date of late 13th century for the notation of many of these fragments, we may cite the "P" which is not split as in the later fragments and as occurs in the writing of the extreme end of the century; also the short feet, curved to the right on the end of consonants such as "M" and "N", are not so prevalent as

[1] L. Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments;* Publications of the American Institute of Musicology, *Musicological Studies and Documents* No. 2.

[2] J. Handschin, "The Summer Canon and its Background", Part 2 in *Musica Disciplina* Vol. V, 1951 p. 66 ff.

[3] M. Bukofzer, *Sumer is icumen in, A Revision;* Publications in Music of the University of California, 1944 p. 83.

[4] Y. Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle,* Vol. IV, 1939 p. 140.

[5] Contained in London, British Museum, *Harley 978.*

[6] L. Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", in *Musica Disciplina* Vol. VIII, 1954 p. 38 f.

[7] Quoted in the catalogue of L. Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments,* under No. 17.

in the sources which are definitely of the 14th century.

Hughes [8] accordingly was quite justified in dating the main body of compositions in the Worcester fragments as "Late XIIIth Century"; because of the apparently close relationship between Willelmus de Winchecumbe and the Worcester fragments [9], we feel justified in dating these compositions more precisely as ca. 1280. Naturally the palimpsests are later additions; thus, No. 67, *Thomas gemma cantuariae,* cannot be older than compositions of the same group as appears inherent in Hughes's date of "XIIIth Century" [10]. In connection with this motet Levy [11] pointed out that the text of the third voice of this composition was written in honour of Thomas de la Hale, a monk killed during the French raid upon the Benedictine priory of St. Martin at Dover in early August of 1295; Levy concludes further that since the Worcester version is notated in breves and semibreves, it must be even later than the versions preserved in Princeton and Cambridge which are notated in longae and breves and which were written ca. 1300. Paleographic evidence, however, permits a date of not later than the first quarter of the 14th century for the Worcester copy of this motet. The text of the extant upper voice of the motet *Spiritus procedens,* No. 43, is contained in a conductus in Oxford *New College 362,* a group of fragments notated after 1300; similarly this composition is also from the first half of the 14th century. ("XVIth Century" is undoubtedly a typographical error in Hughes's edition and "XIVth Century" is meant.) Likewise Nos. 44, 47 & 48, all notated by the same hand, must also be compositions of later origin than "Late XIIIth Century", as Hughes regards them, and are certainly from the 14th century. An interesting fact regarding these last three compositions is that they are notated in larga/longa notation as discussed by R. Handlo [12] and J. Hanboys [13]. Whereas Hanboys calls a note with an elongated head a "Larga" and recognises its division into two and three longae, Handlo considers this note to be a "Duplex Longa" and recognises only its division into two longae. Undoubtedly this form was introduced for the notation of motets in a binary meter, whereas the normal longa/brevis notation would indicate ternary meter exclusively. The palimpsest No. 41, however, may still be late 13th century, as Hughes

[8] Dom A. Hughes, *Worcester Mediaeval Harmony;* Publications of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1928.

[9] L. Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", p. 35 ff.

[10] Dom A. Hughes, *Op. cit.,* No. 73.

[11] K. Levy, "New Material on the Early Motet in England, A Report on Princeton Ms. Garrett 119", in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. IV, 1951 p. 224.

[12] E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi, nova series,* Vol. I, Paris 1864 or Milan 1931 p. 383 ff.

[13] *Ibidem,* p. 403 ff.

believes, since English semi-mensural notation is still used (i.e. rhomboids are used instead of puncti, and the ligatures are not mensural); this composition is also written in the binary form of the third mode, which would indicate earlier origin. Nevertheless the continental term "Tenor" is used, a factor indicating later origin, whereas the normal term (normal for Worcester) was "Pes" [14]. Likewise the palimpsest No. 53, *Candens crescit lilium,* which Handschin [15] identified with a motet in Cambridge *Pembroke College 228,* is also ca. 1300. As Hughes has pointed out [16], the notation of this composition corresponds to the teachings of Odington, especially in regard to the differentiation of rests.

The dating of the other Worcester fragments, those not represented in Oxford (Bod.) *Lat. Lit. d 20,* also requires a revision of the dates suggested by Hughes. The palimpsests of fragment XII were written by the same scribe as the palimpsest *Thomas gemma cantuariae* (No. 67) and consequently cannot be of the "XIIIth Century" but must be of the early 14th century; these compositions are notated in completely mensural notation, and the term "Tenor" is used. Fragment XVIII was classified as "XIIIth Century" by Hughes but is more precisely of the first half of the century; paleographic evidence, especially the formation of the "A", supports this claim, furthermore, this fragment contains an early form of the motet *Ex semine,* whose authorship is attributed to Perotinus. The compositions contained in fragments XIX and XXXII (fragments undoubtedly from the same original volume) have been dated by Hughes as including the time from the "XIIIth Century" to "?1375"; the only concordance between these fragments and other sources is the *Et in terra pax* (No. 88),

[14] W. Odington, writing ca. 1300 in the vicinity of Worcester, uses the Continental term *Tenor* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum . . .*, Vol. I, p. 246), whereas Anon. IV uses the term *Pes,* by which he alternatingly means the *Tenor* in our sense of the word and the *Perfectio,* since the *Tenor* consists mostly of perfect longae (e.g. 5th mode). It is possible, therefore, that this composition was already written with a view toward Odington's terminology, although Odington's doctrines were otherwise not applied. The fact that this composition may also be contained in the Reading list (cf. L. Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen", p. 42) and the fact that only compositions of the late 13th century appear to be common to the Reading list and the Worcester fragments, suggest that this composition was not of a much later date. Incidentally, Anon. IV, who discusses the motet throughout his treatise, uses the term *Motet* only once (Coussemaker, *Op. cit.,* p. 347).

[15] J. Handschin, *Op. cit.,* p. 67.

[16] Dom A. Hughes, *Op. cit.,* p. 94. Hughes's reasoning, however, is fallacious in indicating that Odington's manner of notating the rests "indicated that duple time was beginning to exist as a normal part of the composer's mental equipment", since the perfecting of the notating of rests was itself part of the Franconian codification and was reflected in Odington's treatise. On the other hand neither Odington nor Franco advocated the use of binary rhythms and Hughes stops short of maintaining that this composition is in a binary mode.

which is contained in Oxford (Bod.) *Mus. C 60,* a group of fragments written around 1300. The notation in breves and semibreves, which Hughes relegates to so late a date, is already present in compositions of the first half of the 14th century (e.g. No. 67); furthermore, some of the compositions contained in fragments XIX and XXXII are not notated in completely mensural notation, and thus these compositions may be dated ca. 1300. Because of the concordance between No. 95 and Montpellier 4,68 and between No. 93 and the Meaux Abbey fragments [17], fragment XX more properly contains compositions of the latter part of the 13th century than of the 14th century, as indicated by Hughes. Fragments XXIX and XXX are certainly from the first part of the 13th century or even a little earlier.

Paralleling the question of the dating of the Worcester fragments, is the problem of the notation. First of all, there is a question of terminology. Handschin [18] had proposed the term *English square notation* as the counterpart to *Continental square notation* in that, in the former case, we have *virgae cum tractu* alternating with *rhomboids,* in the latter case, *virgae cum tractu* and *virgae sine tractu* or *puncti* with *rhomboids* only in the conjuncturae. English or Continental modal notation is a notation in which the normal forms of the ligatures are used to express the rhythmic modes, whereas the *simplices* are not differentiated from each other in an external manner. English and Continental mensural notation, however, attributes mensural meanings to variations in the form of the simplex-notes (semi-mensural) and to the ligatures and rests in addition (completely mensural). *Square notation,* thus, refers only to the external form of the notation and includes both *modal* and *mensural* notation. The confusion of terminology arose from the fact that Ludwig [19] used the term *square notation* in the sense of *modal notation,* and this confusion is still being perpetuated [20]. Of course, the difference between *English* and *Continental square notation* is purely of a graphic nature, defined by the different manner in which Anglo-Irish scribes held their pens, and has otherwise no musical significance.

Incidentally, in referring to No. 81, Bukofzer [21] remarked that the nota-

[17] A facsimile of the version in the Meaux Abbey fragments (University of Chicago, *Ms. 654 Appendix*) is published in L. Dittmer, *Auszug aus, "The Worcester Music-Fragments"*, (Dissertation), Basel 1952, pp. 26-27.

[18] J. Handschin, "The Summer Canon and its Background", Part 1 in *Musica Disciplina* Vol. III, 1949 p. 69 ff.

[19] F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili,* Vol. I part 1, 1910 p. 47.

[20] W. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600,* various editions after 1941.

[21] M. Bukofzer, *loc. cit.*

tion of the motet *Ex semine* was *English mensural notation* whereas the organum proper was in *modal notation*. The differentiation implied in the juxtaposing of these two terms is not precise since both in the syllabic motet as well as in the melismatic organum all of the simplex-notes are distinguished in a mensural manner whereas none of the ligatures is so distinguished. The apparent difference in the notation between the syllabic and melismatic sections is occasioned by the fact that there are few ligatures in the syllabic section and only a few simplex-notes in the hoquetus in the melismatic section. Accordingly we would consider this semi-mensural notation in which the simplex-notes and rests are mensural but the ligatures are not [22].

Handschin [23] has shown that the passage adduced by Bukofzer [24] probably has nothing whatsoever to do with *English mensural notation* at all. There are, however, two passages in the treatise of Coussemaker's Anon. IV that refer to the English manner of notating music:

> "Quidam vero fuit alius Anglicus, et habebat modum Anglicanum notandi, et etiam in quadam parte docendi." [25]

The remark *alius Anglicus* is interesting and may refer to the *Johannes, dictus Primarius* [26], since the following remark refers to a *Joannes supradictus*. Naturally the explanation: *et continuavit modos omnium supradictorum, usque ad tempus Magistri Franconis,* causes one to think of Johannes de Garlandia. Incidentally, as far as concerns the question, raised by Bukofzer [27] and Handschin [28], whether or not compositions written in an older type of notation could be contemporary with those written in a more modern type, Anon. IV adds:

> "Et tempore illo (Magistri Petri, optimi notatoris) fuit qui vocabatur Thomas de Sancto Juliano, Parisius antiquus; sed non notebat ad modum illorum (Magistri Petri et Magistri Robert de Sabilone), sed bonus fuit secundum antiquiores." [29]

It may very well be asked whether Thomas de Sancto Juliano was the notator of the so-called St. Victor [30] collection, which is notorious for its

[22] The development of mensural notation in the Montpellier manuscript is discussed in L. Dittmer, "The Ligatures of the Montpellier Manuscript", in *Musica Disciplina* Vol. IX, 1955 pp. 35-51.

[23] J. Handschin, "The Summer Canon . . . .", Part 1, p. 77.

[24] M. Bukofzer, *Op. cit.,* p. 108.

[25] E. de Coussemaker, *Op. cit.,* p. 344.

[26] *Ibidem,* p. 342.

[27] M. Bukofzer, *Op. cit.,* p. 84.

[28] J. Handschin, "The Summer Canon . . . .", Part 1, p. 73.

[29] E. de Coussemaker, *Op. cit.,* p. 344.

[30] F. Ludwig, *Op. cit.,* p. 139 ff.

use of modal notation at the time that mensural notation was otherwise in use.

The other remark of Anon. IV which refers to the English manner of notating is:

> "Item est quaedam elmuarifa [31] quae potest dici irregularis, quae habet tractam in sinistra parte descendendo, sicut Anglici depingunt vel nominant, quod idem sonat etc." [32]

Niemann [32a] in discussing this quotation believed that it referred to the English version of the conjunctura with a stem on the left side of the first rhomboid. In such a case Anon. IV would consider both the conjunctura and the semibrevis as an *elmuarifa,* but in this passage Anon. IV is describing the various simplex-notes (puncta materialia), not the ligatures and conjuncturae, and thus this passage can only refer to the semibrevis. Thus as Hughes [33] had pointed out, this form is identical with the English semibrevis; it will be remembered that while the rhomboid represented the English brevis, the English form of the semibrevis was a rhomboid with stem.

Bukofzer [34] was not quite precise in describing the English form of the semibrevis as a "makeshift". Like the Continental form, the English form of the semibrevis is derived from the respective form of the conjunctura.

Ludwig [35] discusses further examples of manuscripts in *English mensural notation* and showed that this manner of notating was no longer used after 1300 [36]. (This date is then extended by Bukofzer [37] to "Early 14th century" so that a later date may be assumed for the *Sumer canon.*) The following leaves from the Worcester fragments are written in *English mensural notation:* Fragments: XVIII, XX, XXIX [38] and XXX, furthermore

[31] For a discussion of the term *Elmuarifa* in the meaning of semibrevis, cf. J. Handschin in the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* Vol. XIV, 1931-2 p. 321.

[32] E. de Coussemaker, *Op. cit.,* p. 339.

[32a] W. Niemann, Die abweichende Bedeutung der Ligaturen in der Mensuraltheorie der Zeit vor Johannes de Garlandia, 1902 p. 22.

[33] Dom A. Hughes, *Op. cit.,* p. 90.

[34] M. Bukofzer, *Op. cit.,* p. 85.

[35] F. Ludwig, "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils", in the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* Vol. III, 1923 p. 273 ff.

[36] J. Handschin, "The Summer Canon . . . .", Part 1, p. 70 mentions the fact that there are many examples of *English square notation* contained in manuscripts written in France and Switzerland, so that English notation, like insular script, was by no means restricted to England alone. Similarly, England did not exclude Continental notational procedures.

[37] M. Bukofzer, *Op. cit.,* p. 83.

[38] Apparently only a part of this fragment is written in mensural notation, while the fragment itself is notated in *English square notation;* the Alleluia *Virga florem,* No. 100, is apparently written in the Longa/Brevis mode, as shown by the regular

the entire contents of Vols. 2-5 [39] with the exception of the recto side of *Lat. Lit d 20* f. 33 and, naturally, the palimpsests. Vol. 1 is interesting because the first part of the manuscript apparently begins in *Continental mensural notation;* then follows a section in *English mensural notation* and finally a section again in *Continental notation,* according to the following scheme: ff. . . . . VI-XVI . . . . . LXXV-LXXXVIII . . . . . LXXXXII-CXXXIX . . . . . It would appear, therefore, that *Lat. Lit. d 20* f. 22, the fragment formerly contained in Oxford (Bod.) *Hatton 30,* might properly belong to the middle section of Vol. 1. English and Continental notational procedures lie side by side in the Meaux Abbey fragments also [40]. Incidentally, Bukofzer [41] mentions that the Hatton fragment definitely belongs to the Worcester manuscript *Lat. Lit. d 20* [42] and states further that the hands of this fragment are the same as for other fragments; unfortunately, no further reference is given and I have been unable to identify any one of the scribes in any one of the other fragments [43].

We see, therefore, that the English variant of notating is used in most but not in all cases in which we have dated the compositions "before 1300". Undoubtedly the complete disappearance of this notational dialect is due, in large part, to the Franconian influence which becomes marked around 1300 in England, especially through the writings of Odington; it can be seen that the later compositions, notably the palimpsests of Vols. 1-5, are all written in *Continental notation* and correspond exactly to Odington's doctrine. Nevertheless, the Meaux Abbey fragments continue to use the completely mensural (Franconian) notation using the English notational variants. Furthermore we see that the Worcester fragments group themselves around three main periods: 1. Those compositions from the first half of the 13th century which are written mostly in a note-against-note style, 2. Those compositions composed around 1280, which are connected with Willelmus de Winchecumbe, and 3. Those compositions composed in the first half of the 14th century, which are notated according to Odington's doctrine.

alternation of virgae and rhomboids; in the other compositions of this fragment, the rhomboid apparently has no mensural meaning, but, where used, indicates the lower tone, its original meaning.

[39] Vols. 1-5 designate various complexes of leaves originally belonging together now represented in the composite manuscript Oxford (Bod.), *Lat. Lit. d 20;* cf. L. Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments.*

[40] Cf. L. Dittmer, *Auszug . . .*, pp. 26-27.

[41] M. Bukofzer, *Op. cit.,* p. 89.

[42] More precisely Vol. 1 (cf. Footnote 39), since the present contents of *Lat. Lit. d 20* did not originally come from one mediaeval manuscript, but at most from five.

[43] The hand of No. 40, *O pastor patris,* is not the same as that of No. 70, which has the same texts but which is musically different.

PHILIPPE DE VITRY
ARS NOVA *

ANDRE GILLES, JEAN MAILLARD, GILBERT REANEY

Chapitre I
Les trois espèces de musique

Il y a trois espèces de musique: la musique de l'univers, celle de l'homme et la musique intrumentale. C'est de la musique instrumentale qu'il s'agit ici.

Est dite musique instrumentale toute musique obtenue sur des instruments tels que la cithare, la vièle ou le monocorde: c'est de lui seul qu'il est ici question.

Le monocorde est un instrument pourvu d'une seule corde, dont le jeu s'établit selon les trois genres diatonique, chromatique et enharmonique. Il s'agit ici du diatonique.

Chapitre II
Les treize intervalles de la musique

Est diatonique tout ce qui procède par série de deux tons et un demi-ton. Treize intervalles sont dans ce cas.

Le premier est, musicalement, l'unisson, qui réalise numériquement une unité, comme 1 par rapport à 1. Le second est, musicalement, l'octave qui, numériquement, représente le double, comme 2 par rapport à 1. Le troisième est, musicalement, la quinte, qui est, numériquement, sesquialtère, comme 3 par rapport à 2. Le quatrième est, musicalement, la quarte, qui est, numériquement, sesquitierce, comme 4 par rapport à 3. Le cinquième est le ton, qui est sesquioctave comme 9 par rapport à 8. Le sixième est la tierce mineure, dont l'expression numérique enferme 27 plus 5, comme le rapport 32 à 27. Le septième est la tierce majeure, dont l'expression numérique enferme 64 plus 17, comme le rapport 81 à 64. Le huitième est le demi-ton, dont l'expression numérique enferme 243 plus 13, comme le rapport 256 à 243. Le neuvième est la sixte mineure, dont l'expression numérique enferme 81 plus 47, comme le rapport 128 à 81. Le dixième est la sixte majeure, dont l'expression numérique enferme 32 plus 22,

* The Latin original, with introduction and critical apparatus, was published in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), pp. 5-33. *Ed.*

comme le rapport 54 à 32. Le onzième est la septième mineure, dont l'expression numérique enferme 9 plus 7, comme le rapport 16 à 9. Le douzième est la septième majeure, dont l'expression numérique enferme 256 plus 230, comme le rapport 486 à 256. Le treizième est le triton, dont l'expression numérique enferme 512 plus 217, comme le rapport 729 à 512.

Chapitre III

Toute inégalité procède de l'égalité

Toute inégalité procède de l'égalité, ce qui se voit si l'on prend trois unités, c'est-à-dire une série de termes égaux, et qu'on les dispose en un lieu donné. Suit cette règle que si l'on prend une quantité égale au premier terme et qu'on la pose en premier lieu, puis qu'on prenne une quantité égale au premier et au second, et qu'on la pose ensuite, puis qu'on prenne une quantité égale au premier, plus deux fois le second, plus une quantité égale au troisième, et qu'on la place en troisième position, on obtient alors la série des doubles, qui représente la première espèce des multiples. Et, en procédant ainsi, on obtient à partir de la série des doubles la série des triples, et ainsi de suite: rapports doubles 1, 2, 4; triples 1, 3, 9; quadruples 1, 4, 16; et ainsi, par paliers, de 1 jusqu'à la fin, toute inégalité procède de l'égalité. Voilà qui suffit en ce qui concerne les multiples [1].

Chapitre IV

Etude des rapports

D'un rapport du simple au double on tire, en inversant les termes, un nombre qui en contient un autre plus sa moitié. D'un rapport du simple au triple, on tire un nombre qui en contient un autre plus le tiers, et ainsi des autres espèces.

Rapports du simple au double, en ordre inverse	4	2	1
Rapport sesquialtère	4	6	9

D'un nombre qui en contient un autre plus sa moitié on tire, en inversant les termes, un nombre qui en contient un autre plus les deux tiers. De même, d'un nombre qui en contient un autre plus le tiers, on tire, en

[1] Ce passage reproduit, un peu moins clairement, Boèce, de Arith. I, 32 "Demonstratio quemadmodum omnis inaequalitas ab aequalitate processerit" et de Musica II, 7 "Omnem inaequalitatem ex aequalitate procedere ejusque demonstratio". Le schéma explicatif qui suit devrait, pour exprimer plus clairement le processus, être construit, selon Boèce même

1	1	1	(tres unitates in uno loco)
1	2	4	
1	3	9	
1	4	16	etc.

inversant les termes, un nombre qui en contient un autre plus les trois quarts, etc. . . .

Rapport sesquialtère en ordre inverse	9	6	4
Rapport superbipartiel	9	15	25

D'un nombre qui en contient un autre plus sa moitié, on tire un autre nombre, au multiple supérieur, qui est double et sesquialtère, sans inverser les termes, etc. . . .

Rapport sesquialtère	4	6	9
Rapport à la fois double et sesquialtère	4	10	25

D'un nombre qui en contient un autre plus les deux tiers, on tire un autre nombre, au multiple supérieur, sans inverser les termes, qui est double et superbipartiel.

Rapport superbipartiel	9	15	25
Rapport à la fois double et superbipartiel	9	24	64

Si on multiplie (les deux termes d') un rapport par le même nombre, on obtiendra toujours le même rapport.

Rapport sesquialtère	3	2
Le même rapport sesquialtère	6	4

Si l'on veut, à partir d'une proportion, en établir deux, on multiplie le premier terme par lui-même, le second par lui-même, puis le premier terme du rapport initial par le second, et l'on obtient le "moyen".

Rapport sesquialtère 9 4
Moyen 6
Rapport sesquialtère 3 2

Si l'on veut trouver l'intervalle qu'il y a entre deux rapports, on écrit les rapports choisis de façon que le premier terme de l'un soit sous le premier terme de l'autre, le deuxième terme de l'un sous le deuxième terme de l'autre, puis l'on multiplie en croix, le premier terme de l'un, au-dessus, par le deuxième terme de l'autre, au-dessous; le second terme de l'un, au-dessus, par le premier terme de l'autre, au-dessous, et l'on obtient le résultat cherché.

Ton	9	8
Quinte	3	2
Quarte	4	3

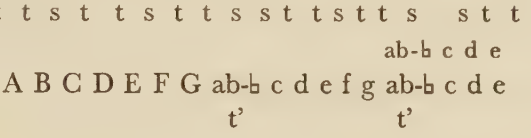
Chapitre V

Les rapports musicaux sur le monocorde

Si la longueur d'une corde se trouve réduite, le son qu'elle rend devient plus aigu, ou encore s'élève, et il faut savoir que toute moitié de corde donne un son identique mais à l'octave du son fondamental de la corde

entière. Il y a deux principes à observer: à un son semblable répond un signe semblable; à des sons différents, des signes différents. Il faut également savoir que deux quartes et un ton, ou une quarte et une quinte font une octave; qu'une tierce majeure plus un demi-ton font une quarte.

Ainsi, pour réaliser sur une corde donnée toutes les espèces de rapports musicaux selon le genre diatonique, il faut d'abord poser un ton, puis un autre ton, ensuite un demi-ton, de ⌜ à G 8, que l'on appelle fin de la première succession diatonique, du fait de la confusion des états; puis, de G 8 à g 15, en procédant de la même manière; ensuite de g 15 jusqu'à 20 et au-delà si le registre est plus étendu, mais ce n'est pas dans nos habitudes [2]. Pour que la chose soit plus nette, voir la figure.

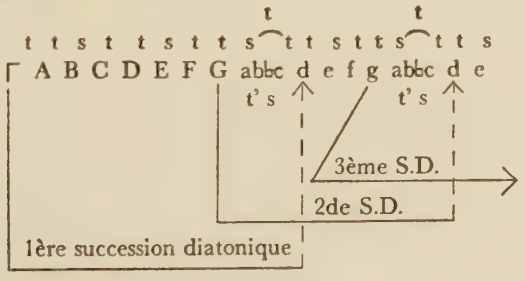


[2] Le texte du Vaticanus et celui du ms Paris, BN 18514 sont ici très proches, et l'on pourrait, en faisant figurer entre crochets les leçons propres au 18514, établir le texte suivant:

"primo ponendus est tonus, deinde alius tonus, et postea semitonium, <etc....> usque ad 12 d <sequens>, quod finis dicitur <primi ordinis diatonici generis> propter confusionem differentiarum; deinde ab <octavo> G usque ad 12 d <sequens, et ita finis est secundi ordinis propter rationem supradictam>; deinde <incipiendo tertium ordinem diatonici generis> a <15> g usque ad 20 (19 dans le 18514) et ultra si possibilitas sit in voce."

"Il faut d'abord poser un ton, puis un autre ton, ensuite un demi-ton, etc.... jusqu'au d 12 qui suit, et que l'on appelle fin de la première succession diatonique, les états se trouvant confondus; puis de G 8 jusqu'au d 12 qui suit, et c'est la fin de la seconde succession diatonique, pour la même raison que plus haut; ensuite commence la troisième succession diatonique, de g 15 jusqu'à (ee) 20 et au-delà si le registre est plus étendu."

Il est certain que le texte du Vaticanus est ici très altéré, beaucoup plus que celui du ms BN 18514. Il se peut aussi que le texte du 18514 soit lui-même fautif. Mais peut-être convient-il de ne pas rejeter a priori une conception selon laquelle chaque succession diatonique serait constituée de douze signes, au lieu de correspondre à notre gamme moderne.



Chapitre VI

Détermination (des rapports) sur le monocorde [3]

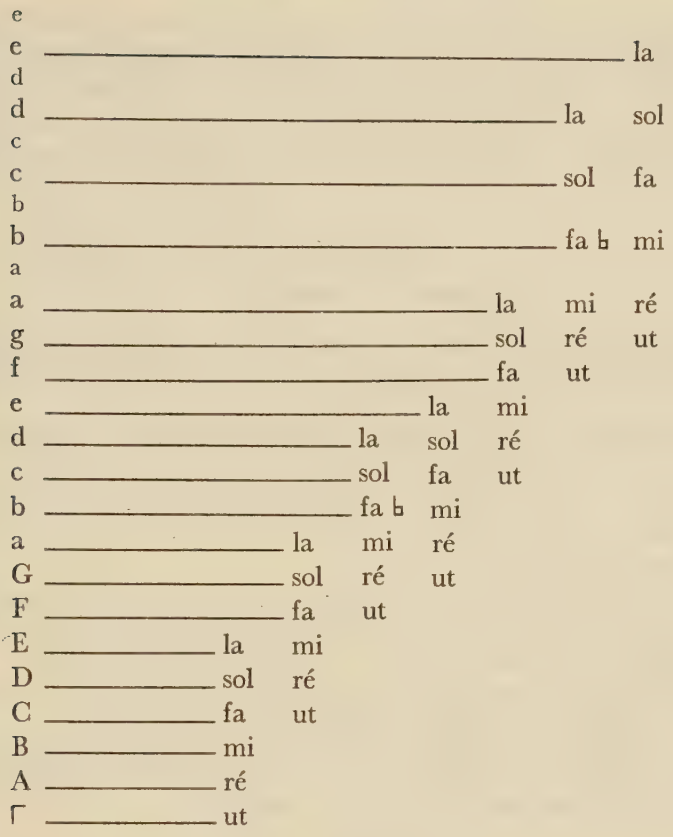
Voyons maintenant comment on détermine ces rapports musicaux sur le monocorde.

Soit une corde qui, prise dans toute sa longueur, donne ⌜: sa moitié G et la moitié de sa moitié g. Aux trois quarts de ⌜ se place C dont la moitié sera c et la moitié de sa moitié c. Aux trois quarts de C se place F dont la moitié sera f, la moitié de f donnant f. Les deux-tiers de ⌜ donnent D dont la moitié sera d, la moitié de d donnant d. Si on divise D par trois, et qu'on porte ce tiers vers ⌜, on obtient A, dont la moitié donne a, et la moitié de la moitié a. Les deux tiers de A donnent E, dont la moitié donne e et la moitié de sa moitié e. Si l'on divise E par trois, et qu'on porte ce tiers vers ⌜ on obtient B, dont la moitié est ♭, et la moitié de sa moitié ♭. Les trois quarts de F donnent b, dont la moitié donne b, et la moitié de la moitié b.

Ceux de ces signes qui vont de ⌜ à G sont dits graves parce qu'ils traduisent une sonorité grave, ou très basse, et sept, aigus, parce qu'ils traduisent une sonorité aiguë. Quant aux derniers, ils sont dits suraigus parce qu'ils se placent au-dessus des aigus, ou parce qu'ils traduisent un son suraigu, c'est-à-dire très aigu.

On peut former de ces sept signes du monocorde, G, A, B, C, D, E, F, une série indéfinie. D'autre part, selon notre usage, il y a six noms de notes, soit ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la, que l'on dispose au-dessus des signes énumérés précédemment, de sorte qu'à G, C, F, réponde un ut, et aux signes suivants, les notes suivantes. Voilà en quoi consiste la "compositio" de la gamme. La gamme n'est donc rien d'autre que la corrélation établie entre les signes du monocorde et les notes; ceci apparaîtra plus clairement dans la figure suivante.

[3] Voyez annexe.



Chapitre VII

Les différentes parties de la musique

Il y a quatre parties principales dans l'étude de la musique ou de la gamme. La première traite des signes et des noms des notes; la seconde des lignes et des interlignes; la troisième des propriétés; la quatrième des mutations.

Chapitre VIII

Lignes et interlignes

Il a été question des signes et des noms des notes. Nous allons traiter maintenant des lignes et interlignes.

La ligne et l'interligne, au sens où on les entend ici, correspondent au pair et à l'impair. Tout ce qui est sur une ligne est dit impair; ce qui est dans l'interligne est dit pair. Il s'ensuit que tout signe qui répond à un nombre impair est sur une ligne, et tout signe qui répond à un nombre pair dans un interligne. Ainsi, selon l'ordre naturel des nombres, si le premier signe se trouve sur une ligne, le suivant sera dans un interligne, et, vice

versa. Au-delà s'opposent au premier tout quatrième et huitième signes, mais, en huitième position, se retrouve un signe semblable. Donc, si le premier se trouve sur une ligne, le suivant sera dans un interligne, et vice versa. Ce système se trouve représenté, conformément à la quadrature, c'est-à-dire aux lignes tracées dans la "manus", entre la quatrième et la première lignes.

Chapitre IX
Les "propriétés" musicales

La propriété n'est autre chose qu'un caractère spécifique. Il y en a trois sortes: (l'état) bécarre, (l'état) naturel et (l'état) bémol. B carré se place un ton au-dessus de A, a et $\overset{a}{a}$; et b mol se place un demi-ton au-dessus de a et $\overset{a}{a}$.

La mélodie qui n'a pas besoin de B, c'est-à-dire qui n'implique aucun son mobile, est dite naturelle.

Règle: Tout ut en G est en état bécarre, ainsi que les notes suivantes de l'hexacorde; tout ut en C est en état naturel; tout ut en F est en état bémol. D'où les vers

C naturam dat, F b molle tibi signat,
G quoque ♮durum te semper habes caniturum.

C indique l'état naturel, F l'état b mol; G, quant à lui, invite à chanter en ♮dur. Et en voilà assez sur les propriétés musicales.

Chapitre X
Les mutations

Une mutation n'est autre chose que l'abandon d'un nom de note au profit d'un autre, le son et le signe demeurant les mêmes. Il s'ensuit que, partout où se fait une mutation, il faut qu'il y ait au moins deux notes. Or, en gamma ut, A ré, B mi et $\overset{e}{e}$ la, il n'y a qu'un nom de note. Il n'y a donc pas de mutation. Il n'y en a pas non plus en b fa ♮ mi, parce qu'il y a là des signes différents, et des notes différentes; et, parce qu'elles ne se placent pas sous les mêmes signes, elles ne répondent pas non plus à la même sonorité: ainsi ne peut-il y avoir de mutation, car cela irait contre la définition. Si en effet elles répondaient à la même sonorité, on devrait dire b fa mi.

Et, pour que tout le monde comprenne plus aisément, qu'on regarde sur le monocorde.

Là où il y a deux notes, il y a deux mutations, comme en F fa ut, où l'on dit fa ut, ut fa. Autrement, là où il y a trois notes, il y a six mutations,

comme en G sol ré ut et ailleurs, puisque, là où il y a deux notes, la première se change en la seconde et vice versa, et que là où il y en a trois la première se change en la seconde et vice versa; en la dernière et vice versa; la seconde en la dernière et vice versa. Ainsi, là où il y a deux (notes), elles ne se dédoublent pas en quatre (mutations), comme trois (notes) se dédoublent en six (mutations).

Règle: Toute mutation qui s'achève sur ut ré mi est dite ascendante, parce qu'elle permet de monter plus que de descendre; et toute mutation qui s'achève sur fa sol la est dite descendante parce qu'elle permet de descendre plus que de monter. On procède à une mutation, pour monter ou pour descendre, ainsi qu'on le voit en C fa ut, puisque, si l'on y mettait fa, on pourrait monter jusqu'à la troisième note; mais, si l'on voulait porter une quatrième note, il faudrait mettre ut en C fa ut, ce qui constitue une mutation de fa en ut; et, en descendant, on peut appliquer le même principe, à son gré. Ces indications sont suffisantes.

Chapitre XI
Définition de la musique

Sachez que la musique est la science du chant juste, c'est-à-dire le moyen facile de parvenir à chanter parfaitement. Etymologiquement, moys, c'est-à-dire eau, et ycos, c'est-à-dire science, parce qu'elle a été découverte au bord des eaux. Elle connaît treize intervalles: l'unisson, le ton, le demi-ton, etc. . . .

Chapitre XII
L'unisson

Est unisson tout ce qui se trouve sur une même ligne de chant ou dans un même intervalle, et ceci en tout endroit de la gamme, c'est-à-dire quel que soit le signe ou la note de la gamme. Etymologiquement, un et son, l'unisson offrant un seul et même son, selon sa figuration et sa sonorité propres.

D'une façon différente, est dit unisson le son rendu par une seule note dont on ne s'écarte pas; il sera toujours en effet sur une même ligne ou dans un même interligne. Mais si on s'écarte d'une note donnée en touchant la voisine, on réalise alors tantôt un ton, tantôt un demi-ton. Il faut savoir toutefois que l'unisson ne constitue pas par lui-même une consonance, mais est le principe des autres consonances, et, sans l'unisson, il ne saurait y avoir de consonance.

Qu'est-ce que l'unisson? C'est la note sur laquelle on attaque le chant; cette note ni ne monte, ni ne descend, et elle peut, au gré du chanteur, être placée soit dans un registre élevé, soit dans un registre grave, et on la fixe dans la clé qui conviendra le mieux.

Chapitre XIII
Le demi-ton

Le demi-ton est, entre deux unissons, un espace que, conformément aux possibilités de la voix humaine, il n'est ni loisible ni possible de diviser; autrement dit, qui ne souffre pas de son intermédiaire. Il se trouve entre ♭ carré et c, ou encore entre e et f, ou encore a et b rond sans qu'il y ait place entre ces signes pour une autre note, naturellement une fois établie la suite naturelle des notes, puisque, entre f et e il y a une septième majeure. Mais si, parmi les noms de notes, on considère mi fa, il y a entre eux la même distance qu'entre les signes corrélatifs, cela va sans dire. "Semitonium" ne vient pas (en effet) de "semis", c'est-à-dire moitié, comme le pensent certains, puisqu'il vaut moins que la moitié d'un ton, comme cela se voit sur l'échelle du monocorde, mais de "semus-ma-mum", c'est-à-dire imparfait, comme s'il s'agissait d'un son imparfait.

Le demi-ton, comme le dit Bernard, est l'adoucissement et l'agrément de la mélodie tout entière, et sans lui elle serait gâtée, elle perdrait son caractère, il n'en resterait rien.

Boèce, de son côté, indique, en traitant de la question, la valeur du demi-ton.

Chapitre XIV
La musique fausse

Il arrive en effet parfois que, par musique "fausse", nous faisons un demi-ton là où il ne doit point y en avoir; en musique mesurée, nous voyons en effet que le ténor d'un motet ou d'un rondeau se trouve sur b fa ♭ mi, dans l'état ♭ dur: alors il faut que le déchant qu'il admet à la quinte supérieure dise mi sur f aigu, et ceci par musique fausse. En effet, une quinte mi fa ne constitue pas une bonne concordance parce que, du ♭ carré à f aigu, il y a deux tons et deux demi-tons, dont le groupement ne correspond pas à une consonance: or il faut, là où il y a une quinte entre une note et une autre, qu'il y ait une bonne et vraie consonance.

De là par conséquent naît évidemment la question de savoir quelle nécessité il y a d'introduire dans la musique régulière la musique fausse ou fausse mutation, alors que ce qui est régulier ne doit rien admettre qui soit faux, mais vrai bien plutôt. A quoi il faut répondre que la fausse mutation, ou musique fausse, loin d'être inutile, est nécessaire pour obtenir une bonne consonance, et en éviter une mauvaise. Comme il a été dit en effet, si on veut avoir une quinte, il faut nécessairement avoir trois tons et un demi-ton, et si une figure (de note) est sur b fa ♭ mi en ♭ carré, et qu'une autre soit sur f fa ut aigu, état naturel, il n'y a pas consonance, parce qu'il n'y a pas là trois tons et un demi-ton, mais seulement deux tons et deux demi-

tons. Toutefois, on peut ici même réaliser la consonance, ce qu'on nomme "par musique fausse", c'est-à-dire quand on fait un ton d'un demi-ton et vice versa: en fait, il ne s'agit pas de musique fausse, mais irrégulière [4].

On notera que b fa ♭ mi ne relève pas du même principe que les autres clés. On le reconnaît grâce à un ♭ carré ou à un b rond qu'on place en un lieu inusité, en sorte qu'on dise, avec un ♭ carré, mi dur en f aigu, ou, si l'on met un b rond sur b fa ♭ mi (ou telles autres clés semblables), qu'on détermine un intervalle égal à un ton: alors il y a un intervalle de quinte. Ainsi la musique fausse est maintes fois nécessaire, afin que toute consonance ou mélodie, grâce à l'un ou l'autre signe, soit rendue parfaite.

Selon ce qui a été dit il faut donc savoir qu'il y a deux signes de musique fausse: le b rond et cette autre figure: ♭ carré; ils ont la propriété suivante: b rond fera d'un demi-ton un ton, en descendant, et d'un ton un demi-ton, en montant; le contraire se produit avec cette autre figure ♭: d'un ton, en descendant, on fera un demi-ton, et d'un demi-ton, en montant, on fera un ton. Cependant, là où ces signes se justifient, ils sont, comme il a été dit plus haut, non pas faux, mais justes et nécessaires, car, sans eux, aucun motet ou rondeau ne peut se chanter. Ainsi donc ils sont justes, puisque, si quelque chose est faux, cela entraîne que ce n'est point juste; or ce qui nous occupe n'est point faux. Donc....

(en marge du ms) *Note sur la tierce mineure* [5]:

Il semble qu'elle doive plutôt contenir deux tons et demi qu'un ton et demi, parce que le diton, de soi, contient deux tons. Si donc on en ajoute un demi, il semble qu'il y ait ici deux tons et demi (ou demi-ton). Il faut répondre en invoquant cette règle: quand, dans l'arrangement des nombres, le plus petit précède le plus grand, comme dans XIV — I devant V — il faut ôter une unité du plus grand. De même pour le semiditon.

[4] La musica falsa, ou ficta, est en fait de règle dans l'Ars Nova, mais elle constitue une dérogation à la succession diatonique. C'est ainsi qu'il convient d'entendre l'adjectif "irrégulière" (latin = inusitata).

[5] Cette note, telle qu'elle figure dans le ms, est incompréhensible. On devrait traduire en effet: "Il semble qu'elle doive plutôt contenir deux tons et demi qu'un ton et demi, parce que le diton, de soi, contient deux tons. Si donc on en ajoute un, il semble que cela fasse deux tons et demi (ou demi-ton). Il faut répondre en invoquant cette règle: quand, dans l'arrangement des nombres, le plus petit précède le plus grand, comme 14 — 1 devant 4 — il faut ôter une unité du plus petit. De même pour le semiditon".

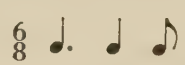
Nous rappellerons toutefois qu'il arrive à notre copiste d'écrire sans comprendre. Nous n'en sommes que plus à notre aise pour faire la remarque suivante, due aux suggestions éclairées de M. Guy Baujouan: quand on écrit les nombres en chiffres romains, on se trouve amené parfois, pour les interpréter correctement, à retrancher d'un chiffre le chiffre précédent, comme dans les groupes IV et IX. On peut supposer

Chapitre XV

Les notes et leur valeur

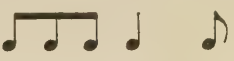
Six minimes peuvent constituer un temps imparfait. A noter que, pour un temps imparfait, quand il y a deux semi-brèves sans queues, les deux ont la même valeur, et chacune vaut trois minimes. Ex.:

Quand il y en a trois, la première vaut trois minimes, la seconde deux, la troisième une seule. Ex.:

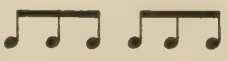


Quand il y en a quatre, la première est une mineure, la seconde une minime, la troisième une mineure, la quatrième une minime. Ex.:

Quand il y en a cinq, les trois premières sont des minimes, la quatrième une mineure, la cinquième une minime. Ex.:



Quand il y en a six, elles sont toutes égales et valent une minime. Ex.:



C'est ainsi que doivent être comptées toutes les semi-brèves en temps parfait ou imparfait, quand elles n'ont pas de queues. Si elles en possèdent, elles doivent en effet être comptées en conséquence. A noter qu'il ne peut y en avoir plus de six pour un temps imparfait, à moins que dans ce cas elles ne soient semiminimes. Ex.:

Selon certains, les valeurs de ces semi-brèves reçoivent une dénomination propre. La semi-brève qui vaut six minimes s'appelle majeure; la

que le Maître aura, dans son exposé oral, cité en exemple le nombre XIV, entendu en chiffres romains, et que l'élève, sans comprendre où le maître voulait en venir, l'aura noté 14, en chiffres arabes. Le maître aura rappelé ensuite que, dans ce cas, il fallait retrancher l'unité — représentée par le petit nombre — du grand nombre qui suivait; mais, tandis qu'il songeait au V romain, l'élève écrivait "1 ante 4", ce qui représente sans doute un petit nombre suivi d'un plus grand, mais ne peut servir d'exemple pour la règle évoquée. Par ailleurs, "adjuncto uno" ne s'explique guère. Nous lisons plus volontiers "adjuncto dimidio".

On notera l'intérêt que présente l'utilisation des chiffres arabes dans notre ms.

semi-brève qui en vaut cinq ou quatre s'appelle semi-majeure, de "semus-a-um", c'est-à-dire imparfait. Celle qui vaut trois minimes s'appelle normale, bien que toutes les figures en losange, au sens large du mot, c'est-à-dire quand il s'agit des semi-brèves, portent le nom de semi-brèves. Celle qui vaut deux minimes s'appelle mineure, comme il a été dit plus haut. Celle qui n'en vaut qu'une s'appelle minime. Celle qui vaut la moitié d'une minime s'appelle semiminime.

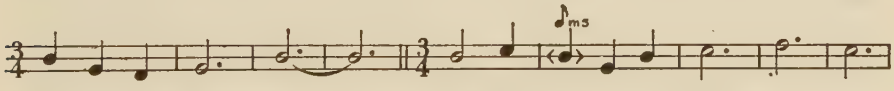
D'autres noms pourraient être donnés à la minime et a la semiminime, à l'interieur du "gradus" [6] où se rencontre la minime: on appellera alors la minime semimineure, et la semiminime minime.

Selon les modernes, de même qu'une minime peut être diminuée, de même elle peut être augmentée. Ainsi, quand deux minimes se trouvent entre deux semi-brèves ou deux brèves la seconde minime en vaut deux, et s'appellera "minima altera", du moins dans un "degré" ternaire; de même quand deux semi-brèves se trouvent entre deux brèves, en mode ternaire (ou parfait), la seconde semi-brève se dénommera "altera" et vaudra six minimes comme il a été dit plus haut.

Chapitre XVI

Les signes des temps parfaits et imparfaits

Une fois traitée la question des brèves et des semi-brèves, des minimes et des semi-minimes, et de leur valeur, il faut parler des signes des temps parfaits et imparfaits. Ainsi pour indiquer un temps parfait, on met un petit cercle rond parce que la forme ronde est parfaite; il arrive aussi, selon certains, qu'on mette trois petits traits obliques [7]: cela revient au même. Ex.:



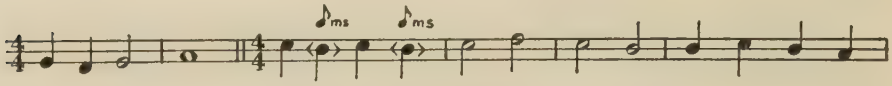
Pour faire comprendre que toute semi-brève se divise en trois parties égales en un passage ternaire, il faut dire que partout où se trouve un tel cercle, ou trois traits sans point de division, cela signifie perfection, c'est-à-dire que le temps, quant à lui, est parfait, puisque essentiellement divisible en trois parties égales.

Qu'il soit parfait se prouve ainsi. Est parfait ce qui a un commencement, un milieu et une fin. Or le temps parfait présente ce caractère. Donc .... etc.

[6] Cf. *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), p. 48, lines 49-50 and note 49.

[7] Il y a désaccord dans le ms entre cette indication et la représentation correspondante. Les traits obliques ⫤ sont en effet fréquemment utilisés par les théoriciens.

Inversement, est imparfait ce qui ne possède point ces éléments, ou est privé de l'un d'entre eux. Or le temps imparfait présente ce caractère. Donc .... La majeure est évidente. La mineure s'explique: en effet, le temps imparfait ne se divise qu'en deux parties, et manque ainsi d'un des éléments (qui font la perfection). On se servira, pour signaler l'imperfection, d'un demi-cercle, ou de deux petits traits.



Chapitre XVII

Les changements de mode et de temps parfaits et imparfaits

Après avoir fait une étude complète des signes qui indiquent les changements de temps, il nous faut, pour qu'on n'ait rien à y ajouter, dire que chez les musiciens modernes le changement se fait à la fois en mode et en temps. Il y a des textes musicaux parfaits en mode et temps; d'autres imparfaits; d'autres sont parfaits en mode, non en temps; d'autres inversement; d'autres présentent des passages parfaits à la fois en mode et en temps, d'autres des passages imparfaits. Et, afin de connaître de façon précise la façon dont varient temps et mode, nous convenons de signes déterminés pour le temps parfait et le temps imparfait. Mais parlons d'abord des différentes modifications des textes musicaux.

Le mode s'appelle parfait quand il admet trois temps — parfaits ou imparfaits — qui constituent une perfection. Mais il s'appelle imparfait quand il en admet deux. En mode parfait, une longue devant une longue vaut toujours trois temps, à moins qu'elle ne soit rendue imparfaite par une brève isolée, avant ou après. La double longue vaut six temps. Mais en mode imparfait, une longue simple vaut deux temps. Elle n'en vaut jamais trois, à moins qu'on n'y ajoute un point de division. La double longue, quant à elle, en vaut quatre, et ne peut être augmentée; elle ne peut d'autre part être diminuée que par une ou deux minimes. Ex.:

En mode parfait, comme on l'a vu, la double longue est rendue imparfaite de deux façons: ou par une brève seule, et alors elle ne vaut que cinq temps; ou par deux, et elle n'en vaut que quatre. Elle pourrait l'être aussi par des minimes, comme la double longue imparfaite. De plus, en mode parfait, la seconde de deux brèves placées entre deux longues devient "altera", comme on l'a vu dans l'ancienne méthode. Mais en mode imparfait, aucune ne peut ni ne doit le devenir.

En mode parfait, les pauses sont "entières", c'est-à-dire en une seule

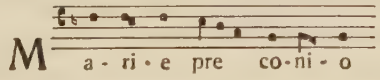
figure, mais non en mode imparfait. En mode parfait on ne doit pas faire de grandes pauses de deux temps en une seule figure. Ainsi, toutes les fois que l'on rencontre des pauses de trois temps en une seule figure, le mode est parfait, comme dans ORBIS ORBATUS. Chaque fois que se rencontrent deux ou plusieurs pauses successives, dont chacune vaut deux temps, le mode est imparfait, comme dans le motet ADESTO SANCTA TRINITAS.

Mode et temps parfaits se rencontrent ensemble dans le motet qui s'appelle DEUS JUDEX FORTIS [8]. Le mode est parfait parce qu'il admet toujours trois temps pour constituer une perfection. Le temps est parfait parce que chaque temps se divise en trois semi-brèves égales. Mais le mode est imparfait et le temps imparfait dans le motet ADESTO. Le mode est imparfait puisque deux temps y sont reçus (pour une perfection); le temps est imparfait puisque chaque temps ne se divise qu'en deux semibrèves égales.

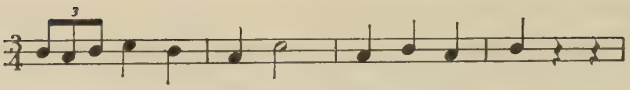
Il y a mode parfait en temps imparfait dans BONA CONDIT. On a vu plus haut ce qui fait le mode parfait et le temps imparfait. Le temps est parfait et le mode imparfait dans MISERA PER LICONIA [9]. Le temps est tantôt parfait, tantôt imparfait, et le mode de même dans le motet GARISON SELON NATURE. Et voilà qui suffit en ce qui concerne la division du temps et du mode.

[8] Le Ms B.N. lat. 14.741 (Cf. sup.) donne seulement *Deus Judex*. Nous ne possédons pas d'autres indications sur ce motet. Notons seulement qu'un des versets du Psaume VII commence par *Deus judex justus et fortis et patiens*. L'Abbé Ulysse Chevalier signale dans son "Repertorium hymnologicum" le motet *Deus judex justus* avec la référence Paris B.N. lat. 1121 f° 198 a.

[9] Ici, le Ms 14741 est muet. Coussemaker a édité "Misera": cependant la copie du Ms établie pour le Père Martini était correcte — Misera pliconia —. Bien que ce groupe soit inexplicable, la leçon "pliconia" invite à penser qu'il s'agit du motet "Mariae praeconio devotio". On trouvera précisément mention de ce motet dans le Ms Paris, B.N. lat. 11.266 f° 33 r° (Couss.; Script. I, 279) dont plusieurs passages sont fort proches de notre texte. Au f° 37 r° du même Ms, le même texte musical est repris et se poursuit au verso:



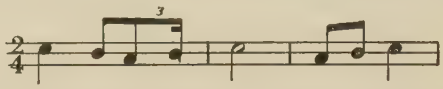
Ce motet est signalé par Elie Salomon (Scientia Artis Musicae, 1274, Gerb. Script. III, 61 b): "Qui voluerit experiri erroneum cantorem, et etiam quasi eminentem, inducat eum ad cantandum prosam, quam edidit Dominus Clemens, Mariae praeconio". Cf. aussi Ms de Montpellier Bibl. de l'Ecole de Médecine H 196, f° 319 v et Y. Rokseth, *Les Polyphonies du XIIIème siècle* III, Paris 1936, p. 149, no. 283, ainsi que A. Gilles et J. Maillard, "Note sur trois motets fantômes de l'Ars Nova de Philippe de Vitry", *Revue de Musicologie* XXXIX (1957), p. 147.



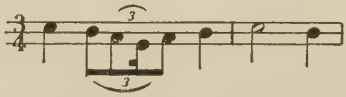
Chapitre XVIII

Les signes des modes et temps parfaits et imparfaits

Pour indiquer le mode parfait, on porte, selon certains, un petit carré qui contient trois petits traits élongés. Ex.:



Pour indiquer le mode imparfait, on porte un petit carré qui contient deux petits traits élongés. Ex.:



Pour indiquer simultanément mode et temps parfaits, on portera un cercle contenant trois traits, le cercle pour indiquer le temps parfait, les traits le mode. Ex.:

Pour indiquer mode et temps imparfaits, on portera un demi-cercle contenant deux traits. Ex.:

Mais pour modifier le mode seul sans le temps, nous y attribuerons le signe qui lui est spécifique, c'est-à-dire le petit carré.

Chapitre XIX

Les notes rouges

Voyons rapidement, du moins pour ne pas sembler méconnaître ce point, pourquoi on utilise des notes rouges dans les motets. Il faut dire qu'il y a à cela deux raisons principales: ou bien les rouges se chantent dans une autre mesure que les noires, comme dans THOMA TIBI OBSEQUA: c'est pourquoi, au ténor de ce motet, les rouges se chantent par temps parfaits en mode imparfait, les noires inversement. On utilise aussi parfois des rouges parce qu'elles passent sous un mode différent, comme dans le motet IN ARBORIS EMPIRO: au ténor de ce motet, les rouges indiquent qu'il faut admettre trois temps pour constituer une perfection, mais les noires deux; ou bien on utilise des rouges ici et là, dans des ballades, des rondeaux et des motets parce qu'elles se regroupent pour pouvoir entrer en compte

avec d'autres perfections, comme dans PLURES ERRORES [10].

D'une seconde manière on utilise les notes rouges parce que les endroits où elles se trouvent se chantent en réalité à l'octave, comme dans GRATIA MISERI et dans le motet qui s'intitule QUANT AMORS. Au ténor de ces motets, toutes les notes rouges se chantent à l'octave.

Parfois les notes rouges s'utilisent pour indiquer un changement dans le chant naturel, c'est-à-dire le chant simple, le plain-chant, parce que tout se passe comme si l'on n'était pas dans le plain-chant, c'est-à-dire dans le chant naturel, comme dans CLAERBURG. Parfois les notes rouges sont utilisées par endroits pour ôter à une longue placée devant une longue sa valeur de trois temps, ou pour que la seconde de deux brèves placées entre deux longues ne soit nulle part rendue "altera", comme dans le ténor de IN NOVA FERT ANIMUS. On les utilise aussi pour donner à une longue devant une longue la valeur de trois temps, à une brève devant une brève la valeur de trois semi-brèves, comme dans IN ARBORIS.

On utilise aussi parfois des notes rouges parce que mode et temps varient, comme dans le ténor de GARISON: dans le ténor de ce motet, les noires longues valent en effet trois temps parfaits, et les rouges, deux temps imparfaits; parfois c'est l'inverse, comme dans le ténor du motet qui s'intitule PLURES ERRORES SUNT.

Chapitre XX

Les dénominations des temps parfaits
Le petit temps parfait

Comment temps et prolation se divisent en six ou neuf minimes, nous en avons traité plus haut, là où il convenait. Pour ne pas donner l'impression que nous n'avons pas fait une étude sérieuse de la division des temps, nous voulons en traiter plus rigoureusement.

Le temps parfait offre trois aspects: il y a le petit temps parfait, le temps parfait moyen, le grand temps parfait. Francon a utilisé le petit temps parfait. Selon Maître Francon, et comme il a été vu plus haut, le petit temps parfait ne contient que trois semi-brèves qui sont si réduites qu'elles ne peuvent pas être divisées en valeurs plus grandes que des semi-minimes. A noter que, quand on rencontre un texte musical en temps parfait où il n'y a que trois semi-brèves pour un temps, elles doivent être

[10] Encore qu'elle ne soit pas nommée, c'est ici de la syncope qu'il s'agit. Cf. 7378 A f° 62 r° G, l. 59-63 "Inveniuntur aliquotiens unice semibreves, breves aut longas sequentes, que tamen eas nec augent nec minuunt, sed potius ad invicem reducuntur. Dicendum quod ponuntur ille ut per eas recta mensura syncopetur, et secundum aliquos deberent fieri rubee", et Muris, Ars Discantus, in Couss. Script. III, 106.

comptées selon le petit temps parfait; (s'il y en a quatre, les deux premières sont des semiminimes, sauf indication contraire).

Ajoutons que quand deux semi-brèves représentent ce petit temps parfait, la première doit être majeure, et jamais la seconde, sauf indication particulière, bien que, dans l'esprit de l'ancienne méthode, nous ayons prouvé que la seconde devait être majeure. La raison en est que ces semi-brèves se comptent en petit temps parfait comme trois minimes en grand temps parfait. En effet, quand deux semi-brèves sont mises pour trois minimes, la première vaut deux minimes, la seconde n'en vaut qu'une, sauf indication contraire, comme on l'a vu plus haut.

Chapitre XXI

Le temps parfait moyen

Le temps parfait moyen contient trois semi-brèves de valeur égale, dont chacune vaut deux minimes ou l'équivalent; et le temps parfait moyen ne contient que six minimes; si on met quatre (semi-brèves), deux doivent être des minimes; si on en met cinq, quatre doivent devenir minimes; si on en met six, toutes seront des minimes et auront même valeur. Et si on les divise, on les divisera en semiminimes, chaque minime se divisant en deux semiminimes. Quand donc on voit qu'on ne met pas plus de six semi-brèves par temps, on doit les compter selon le temps parfait moyen. On peut toutefois les compter selon le grand temps, bien qu'il n'y en ait pas plus de six, ceci quand elles sont dépourvues de queues. Si elles portent de ces signes, il convient en effet d'en tenir compte dans la détermination de leur valeur.

Chapitre XXII

Le grand temps parfait

Il contient trois semi-brèves dont chacune vaut trois minimes, et ainsi le grand temps parfait contient neuf minimes et n'en pourrait valoir plus, sauf à être divisé en semiminimes. Quand donc on met plus de six semi-brèves, il faut nécessairement qu'il y ait grand temps parfait, et ainsi le grand temps parfait contient trois minimes pour un temps.

Chapitre XXIII

Les dénominations des temps imparfaits
Le petit temps imparfait

Il faut savoir que, comme le temps parfait est triple, soit petit, moyen et grand, ainsi qu'il a été dit, de même le temps imparfait offre deux aspects: le petit temps imparfait et le grand. Le petit temps contient deux semi-brèves dont chacune vaut deux minimes, et ainsi le petit temps im-

parfait ne doit valoir que quatre minimes, sauf à être divisé en semi-minimes.

Chapitre XXIV
Le grand temps imparfait

Le grand temps imparfait contient deux semi-brèves de valeur égale, dont chacune vaut trois minimes; ainsi le grand temps imparfait contient-il six minimes. Quand donc on voit qu'on met plus de quatre minimes pour un temps imparfait, il faut les compter selon le grand temps imparfait.

On voit ainsi que si le temps parfait offre trois espèces de prolations, comme il se divise en trois semi-brèves, le temps imparfait lui aussi offre deux espèces de prolations, la petite et la grande, comme il se divise en deux semi-brèves.

A noter que le grand temps imparfait se comporte comme le temps parfait moyen [11].

Fin de l'ARS NOVA de Philippe de Vitry [12].

Deo gratias. Amen.

[11] Le Vaticanus parle ici du grand temps parfait: "maius tempus perfectum". On pourrait a la rigueur comprendre, ce qui n'est pas indiqué plus haut, que les minimes, comme dans le grand temps imparfait, se divisent en deux semiminimes. Toutefois, comme la minime ne se divise jamais qu'en deux semiminimes dans le système qui nous est ici proposé, on comprend mal une telle remarque. Il est beaucoup plus intéressant de constater que, dans le temps parfait moyen, comme dans le grand temps imparfait, le temps, représenté par trois semibrèves imparfaites ou deux semibrèves parfaites, a la même valeur, soit six minimes. Le ms Paris, BN 14741 vérifie cette hypothèse: "On pourrait dire que la prolation (division de la semibrève en minimes) mineure du temps parfait et la prolation majeure du temps imparfait sont identiques. Réponse: c'est vrai si l'on considère la division (division de la brève en semibrèves) et la prolation".

Soit dit aussi que le ms 14741 développe les chapitres "Dénominations des temps parfaits et imparfaits" en proposant pour chacun d'eux un exemple de motet:

Nature du temps:	*Titre du motet:*
Grand temps parfait	*Qui doloreux*
Temps parfait moyen	*Imperatrix anglica*
Petit temps parfait	*O Maria affectu*
Grand temps imparfait	*Gratissima virginis species*
Petit temps imparfait	*Qui aux promesses de Fortune se fie*

[12] Cf. aussi A. Gilles, "Contribution à un inventaire analytique des manuscrits intéressants l'Ars Nova de Philippe de Vitry", *Revue Belge de Musicologie* X (1956), 149-154.

Annexe

Division du monocorde

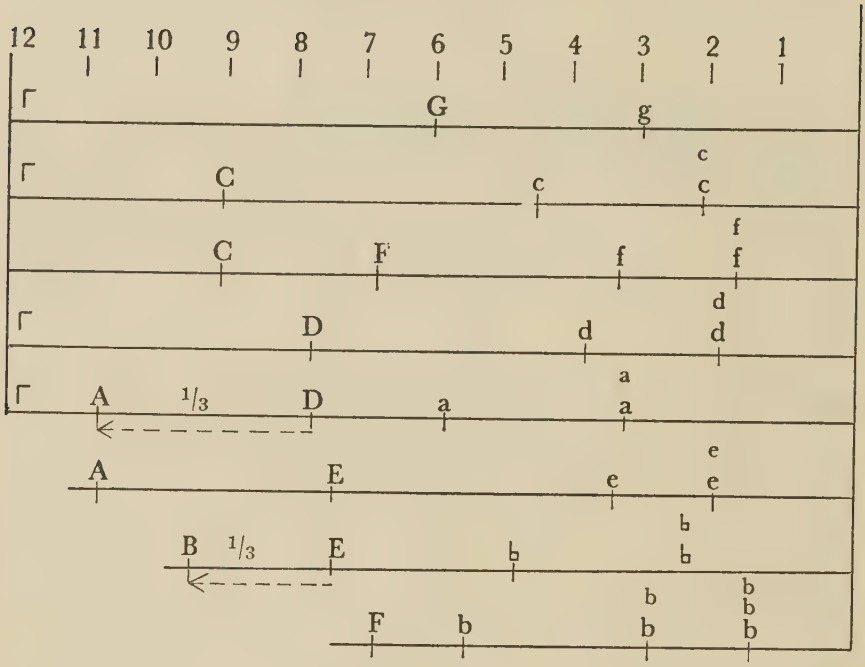


Tableau établi selon les données du chapitre "De operatione monochordi". Ce tableau rejoint celui de la p. 5, y compris b mol, qui n'apparaît qu'à partir des "acutae", le premier hexacorde étant par bécarre et tout entier dans les "graves".

THE *BREVIARIUM REGULARE MUSICE* OF MS OXFORD, BODLEY 842

GILBERT REANEY

Although it is now realised that English medieval music is as valid artistically as any from the continent, the field of music-theory in medieval England is largely a closed book. Admittedly Coussemaker has published a number of English treatises, but these all need reediting. For the rest, we have mainly the late Manfred Bukofzer to thank for making available to us authoritative texts on English discant and fauxbourdon. And yet such places as Canterbury, Oxford and especially Bury St. Edmunds were centres of musical thought in the late Middle Ages and often earlier. The *De Musica* of Boethius and that of Augustine were well known at Canterbury [1], and even at Dover Priory, an offshoot of Canterbury, music was studied intensively from the twelfth century at least. The monk Theinred, who was a contemporary of John of Salisbury [2], addressed his very individual study of intervals and proportions to Aluredus of Canterbury. Unfortunately we only know the work of this opponent of Guido from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century copy in the Oxford ms Bodley 842 [3]. It connects up interestingly with German organ treatises, for a tabular diagram gives all the different forms of alphabetical notation, while the concluding section on organ-pipes is nothing less than a copy of the corresponding section of the treatise attributed to Gerlandus [4]. The manuscript itself has a clearly pedagogic destination. This becomes clear from the words which end Theinred's treatise: "Explicit informatio iuvenum".

Although this work takes up more than half the manuscript, several other important treatises are to be found in it. Preceding these and following Theinred's study are some fifteenth century additions, of which only two are of interest. One is the brief treatise on English discant by Richard

[1] Cf. M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 8, items 39-40; p. 18, items 36-37, etc.

[2] J. Giles, *Joannes Saresberiensis, Opuscula* (Oxford, 1848), p. 35.

[3] ff. 1-44 v.

[4] M. Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (St. Blasien, 1784 and reprints), I, pp. 217 f.

Cutell, already published by Bukofzer [5], and the other a curious piece built like a two-voice *ballade* in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta* [6]. The interesting thing about this work is that it employs the most distant sharps and particularly flats, such as C and G flat. These are carefully cancelled by the letter indicating the natural note in question, C and G in this case. The obscure Latin doggerel accompanying the piece seems to refer to the new methods of using *musica ficta,* apparently on instruments.

The other treatises written in the main hand are Franco's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* [7], his *Compendium* [8], which Besseler considers unauthentic [9], and the *Breviarium regulare musice* [10]. These are followed by some unrelated pages on intervals [11], mainly drawn from the *Quatuor Principalia Musice,* and by *diverse conclusiones* [12] which appear to be the final part of the *Breviarium,* but in fact are not.

Bodley 842 is evidently a copy of an older manuscript, since an old library catalogue of the Augustinian Friars at York dating from 1372 contains an entry relating to a manuscript practically identical with ours [13]. This ms contained the four principal treatises of our manuscript, and moreover the *Breviarium* is not anonymous as it is in the Bodley manuscript. It is ascribed to a certain Willelmus. The logical assumption is that our manuscript is a slightly later copy of an original Dover ms, which was in fact presented by John Erghome to the Augustinian Friar's Library at York towards the end of the fourteenth century. In 1477 this copy was sold by a carpenter named Sproxton to St. Mary's Abbey, Byland in Yorkshire, according to a contemporary note on f. 1. With regard to the name Willelmus, it is often quoted in the 1389 catalogue of Dover Priory. Item 231 is an *Instituta Willelmi prioris* [14], item 247 a *Liber decretorum Willelmi* [15], and item 295 *Willelmus in sacramentali* [16]. Another con-

[5] M. Bukofzer, *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen* (Strasbourg, 1936), pp. 141-143.

[6] ff. 45 v-46.

[7] ff. 49-59 v.

[8] ff. 60-62 v.

[9] 'Franco von Köln', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* IV (Kassel and Basle, 1955), 693 f.

[10] ff. 62 v-73 v.

[11] ff. 74-76.

[12] ff. 76-77 v.

[13] M. R. James, "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York, now first edited from the Manuscript of Trinity College, Dublin", in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark Dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 83, no. 645.

[14] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 424.

[15] *Ibid,* p. 425.

[16] *Ibid,* p. 427.

nection with Dover may be drawn from the rather late, sixteenth century writing on f. 64 v. There we find the name John Prior, and although there were doubtless John Priors outside Dover, it is noteworthy that the 1389 library list contains this name several times. Item 164, for instance, is a *Legenda sanctorum in gallica J. Prioris* [17], and item 287 a *Tabula super summa Reymundi J. Prioris* [18].

The treatise of Willelmus apparently derived its inspiration from the *Compendium* attributed to Franco, since both start in very much the same way. Their authors have read many and varied works of music-theory, and they want to put together the salient points for the benefit of students [19]. Unfortunately there is a page missing immediately after the first few lines of Willelmus' theatise, but these lines set the stage as it were for what is to come. "I have read the writings of many musicians and studied works for the practice of music", says the author; and indeed he displays his erudition much more openly than is usual. He quotes many authorities from Franco to Johannes Torkesey, including some that are now lost.

Chapter one was on the missing page. Chapter two is a monochord division followed by the usual proportions. The third chapter is more valuable, for in it Willelmus considers musical intervals, note values and pauses from a more personal standpoint. His table of notes is taken from the well-known chapter three of Boethius' fourth book on music. Like Theinred, the author of the *Breviarium* is comprehensive. He gives first the Greek note names, then their proportional values, then the Greek note-symbols and finally two medieval letter systems, the second of which is the Guidonian. Willelmus seems to prefer the other, A.b.c.e.b.i.m.o.x.y.c.d.f.n.l. In fact he arranges these on a full-page drawing of a harp with 15 strings and what is either a tuning-key or a plectrum. This is valuable proof of the existence of many-stringed harps in England about 1400, for surely this illustration has more than theoretical value. French harps of course are usually much smaller at this period.

After giving the note-names and symbols after Boethius, Willelmus goes on with plainsong symbols and their names according to Walter

[17] *Ibid,* p. 421.

[18] *Ibid,* p. 427. It might be argued that the name is more likely to be that of John Aske, last Prior of the Augustinians at York, whose signature authorised the surrender of his house on November 28th, 1538 (James, *The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars* . . ., p. 4), but this fails to take into account the removal of the ms to Byland as early as 1477.

[19] Cf. C. E. H. Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series* (Paris, 1864-1876 and reprints), I, p. 154: "Ego, Franco de colonia, ..." with "Multorum cantorum scripturas varias ac opera ad *practicam* musice laborata investigando dispersa conspexi que ad meam iuvenumque uti [litatem] . . . ."

Odington [20]. This is fortunate, because it enables us to improve for once on the faulty and late copy of Odington's *De speculatione musice* in ms 410 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The next section will be treated in full, because it is the most important from the viewpoint of mensural theory and terminology. Every note, according to Willemus, is simple or *fecunda*. A simple note is evidently the smallest value in use, and in fact turns out to be identical with the semiminim. All other notes are *note fecunde* because they are divisible into parts of lesser value. Here Aristotle is quoted, as having said that the least thing is always the measure of the greater in the same class. Willelmus believes this must apply to music too, and so we must always start with the simple note, the semiminim. His second distinction concerns ligatures. Notes are either *separata* or *ligata*. Again, one note is slow, another quick. Odington is again the authority for the statement that the slow note is called a long and the quick one a breve [21]. Then there are divisions into plain notes and plica notes. For this definition Willelmus goes to the famous sentence of Franco: *Plica est nota divisionis eiusdem soni in grave et acutum,* which of course occurs in its context on f. 52 v of the same manuscript. Furthermore, every note except the *largissima* is *recta* or *altera,* or according to some authorities minor or major. Every note greater than the semiminim *(omnis nota fecunda)* is perfect or imperfect, and this is the opinion of the moderns. The series of perfect notes according to Willelmus, though others would differ on this point, is as follows: *largissima, larga, longa, brevis, semibrevis, minuta, minima.* The *minuta* is what we would call the minim and the *minima* is the semiminim, also called *simpla* or *crocheta* by Willelmus. His intention is obvious. When he calls the semiminim the *minima,* he is making sure that he uses the word meaning the smallest value for what is in fact the smallest value, the semiminim.

Odington's statement that the earliest writers of organum wrote in duple time in conformity with poetic meter has troubled many musicologists. Willelmus however merely quotes Odington and goes on to say that a perfect long is triple, a duplex longa equals two perfect longs and such a figure avoids breaking up the tenor of the plainsong.

The lack of a historical viewpoint is particularly evident in late medieval discussions about the smallest note-value. It would be clear to us that Franco, Odington and the author of a treatise beginning *Quoniam de*

[20] C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series* (Paris, 1864-76 and reprints), I, p. 213 f.

[21] *Ibid,* p. 235.

mensurabili musica [22] considered the semibreve as the smallest possible note-symbol because they lived before the minim was invented. But this chronological outlook does not seem to be a part of Willelmus' philosophy, perhaps because he was too impressed by authority. He does at least realise that the semiminim of his time is equal to Odington's minim [23]. Perhaps that was forced on him by the authority of Johannes Torkesey and the other moderns, with whom the semiminim is the smallest note-symbol.

Torkesey's triangle is a diagram of mensural note-values which enjoyed tremendous popularity in England from the late fourteenth into the sixteenth century. It crops up in numerous manuscripts with or without the accompanying brief *declaratio* which is found in mss London, British Museum, Lansdowne 763 [24], Add. 21455 [25], Cambridge, Trinity Coll. 1441 [26] and in part in Rome, Bibl. Vat., Reg. 1146 [27] and the treatise under discussion here, which amplifies it by the addition of Willelmus' favourite note-value, the *largissima*. And even Morley finds use for a variant of the diagram in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke* of 1597 [28], not to mention the more direct borrowing in William Chelle's miscellaneous collection of musical treatises of 1526 [29], and the fifteenth century Bury St. Edmunds manuscript London, Brit. Mus., Tiberius B. IX [30].

Willelmus is rather proud of having added the *largissima* to Torkesey's diagram, as he adds the *largissima* rest to the table of rests, though this note value, twice or three times as big as the *larga* or *maxima,* has no practical use. His aim is of course symmetry, and as he has three species of breve (breve, semibreve and minim) he wants three species of long

[22] The treatise is apparently lost. The nearest approach to such an incipit occurs in London, British Museum, Add. ms. 21455, f. 3: *Cum de mensurabili musica sit nostra presens intentio,* which turns out to be a sketchy and practically unrecognisable version of Philippe de Vitry's *Ars Nova.*

[23] Odington, like Willelmus, used the term *minuta* for minim, but represented this note-value by a semibreve.

[24] ff. 89 v-91, 94-94 v. The section beginning *Septem sunt concordancie* on f. 94 does not seem to belong to Torkesey's *declaratio,* though it occurs in all three manuscripts. It has been published by M. F. Bukofzer, *Geschichte des englischen Diskants,* p. 141.

[25] ff. 7-8 v.

[26] ff. 54-55. Here the treatise is attributed to Robert de Brunham. This writer is mentioned by Hanboys (Coussemaker, *Scriptores,* I, pp. 431, 447).

[27] ff. 55 v-57.

[28] Modern edition by R. A. Harman, London, 1952, p. 57.

[29] London, Lam beth Palace, ms. 466, f. 37 v.

[30] This manuscript only exists in fragments, but it was copied before the fire which ruined many of the Cotton manuscripts. The copy is now British Museum, Add. ms. 4909.

(*largissima, larga* and *longa*). The note-form is that of a *maxima* with a tail above as well as below the right-hand side of the note.

The third part of the chapter on note-values and symbols deals with note-shapes in general. Although each value is shown with two and three of the next smaller value, there is no question here of duple as well as triple rhythms. If there are only two notes, one is *recta,* the other *altera.* Odington is quoted again over the shape of the semibreve. It must be rectangular, not lozenge-shaped [31].

The question then arises of the much disputed single plica note. The conclusion is that every note except the semiminim may be plicated, since every other note is a *nota fecunda.* Thus Odington and Franco were wrong, the former for saying only longs and breves could be plicated and the latter for refusing to allow a *semibrevis plicata* on its own, that is, not in ligature. Willelmus then quotes Peter of Pisa, another writer whose work does not seem to be extant, as saying that the semibreve could only be plicated when it formed one of three performed to a single syllable. Our author however is in agreement this time with the writer of the treatise beginning *Quoniam de mensurabili musica* when he says that the semibreve, according to the opinion of certain learned men, can take a plica *per se,* on its own [32]. Willelmus' desire for symmetry leads him to lay down four rules exemplified by a complete table of plica notes, from the *largissima* down to the *minuta,* that is our minim. The semiminim is of course not divisible, which explains its absence. The only-symbols which need mention here are those for the semibreve and the minim. These both take a stroke on the right, whether the plica is ascending or descending. The descending plicated minim incidentally is the same in shape as the *dragma,* though one would have expected the lower tail to be oblique in the present case. Perhaps the copyist made a mistake here.

There is little need to consider the following rules which come from Johannes Torkesey's short but influential treatise. At the end of the section on actual notes, not rests, Willelmus says that he will later discuss in full how to distinguish between modes in prolations and mensurations, and many other things. However, in the Bodley ms he never seems to get round to these questions. Instead, what we do get is another triangle, this time of rests, including of course the *largissima.* This time it is included in the main figure and not added to the base as in the first triangle. The only point that is particularly interesting in this section concerns the *finis punctorum,* the equivalent of our double bar. According to Willelmus, this sign indicates that the penultimate note of any mode will be a long. The

[31] Cf. Coussemaker, *Scriptores* I, pp. 235 f.

[32] *Semibrevem vero per se vox congrue plicari permittit.*

author again takes care to point out how much his rules depart from those of Franco and Odington, since *they* did not go beyond the semibreve and long. In other words, they had no pauses for the minim and semiminim, or the large and *largissima*.

The treatise appears to break off here, although on the same page there is a supplementary diagram of pauses for the *comitas cantorum*. This addition can hardly be by Willelmus, since he has just said: "The above rules concerning the value of notes and pauses will suffice for now". He then promises to give rules concerning the value of ligatures and perfection and imperfection in the next chapter. What actually follows on the next three folios is the entirely unrelated variant of the section on intervals from the *Quatuor Principalia Musice*. The *diverse conclusiones* which follow this fragment do in fact deal with imperfection and ligatures, but they cannot be by Willelmus since they do not use his peculiar terminology. The *minima* here is a minim, and indeed it seems to be the smallest note-value known to the writer of the section.

The treatise of Willelmus, in spite of its introductory and purely theoretical nature, is valuable for its acquaintance with contemporary theoretical literature, for it is rare for a musical theorist of the fourteenth century to be able to quote such a galaxy of names and works. If the author's outlook is limited, he has the typical desire of the contemporary theorist for order and symmetry in his ideas. We have too what is probably another connection between Dover and other musical centres of the fourteenth century, such as Oxford and Bury St. Edmunds. It should soon be possible to trace some interesting interrelations between the English musical treatises of the late Middle Ages, for even small, apparently unrelated fragments often turn up in several different sources, whether in exact or variant form.

THE MANUSCRIPT PARIS, BIBL. NAT., NOUV. ACQ. FRÇ. 6771
(Codex *Reina* = *PR*)

KURT VON FISCHER *

The codex Reina (*PR*) owes its special significance to the fact that it contains an important repertoire of secular works of the Italian Trecento, of 14th century France and, in its last part, of the Dufay period. It shows the close relationship between Italian and French musical practice in the late 14th and early 15th century in northern Italy. By comparison with the Tuscan Trecento codices *FP, Lo, Pit, Sq* the number of French works is far greater. French music appears not only as an appendix to the Italian works as in *FP* and *Pit* but collected in separate fascicles. This probably distinguishes *PR* from fragmentary manuscripts like *Luc* and *Pist*. Compared with *PadA, Mod* and the later *O* and with the primarily religious sources *BL, BU* and *Ao,* codex *Reina* contains neither liturgical nor sacred music (except the sacred Rondeau No. 166). The connections between *Reina* and the cantilena-style pieces of *Ch* are reduced to the French fascicles of *PR* since *Ch* contains no Italian music, or at least no music with Italian texts.

The first descriptions of *PR* were by F. Ludwig [1] and by J. Wolf. The latter gave a summary inventory in alphabetical order [2] (corrected in some details by Ludwig [3]). Recently the connection of the French parts of *PR* with *Ch* and *Mod* was demonstrated by W. Apel in his important edition of French secular music of the late fourteenth century.

The manuscript

The history of codex *Reina* (*PR*) is unknown till its appearance in the catalogue of sale of Sign. Reina (Milan) in 1834 (sale 15 Dec. 1834). For some years *PR* belonged to Botté de Toulmont. Since his death the

* My thanks are due in particular to Mr. Gilbert Reaney for the revision of my English version of the article and for some important information. I am indebted too to Prof. Dr. H. Besseler, Prof. Ch. van den Borren, Prof. Dr. F. Gennrich and M. F. Lesure.

[1] F. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jhs.", in *SIMG* IV, p. 53 f.

[2] J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250-1460,* I, Leipzig 1904, p. 260 ff.

[3] F. Ludwig in *SIMG* VI, p. 616.

Ms. has been in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

PR is a paper manuscript measuring 27,1 x 21,3 cm, bound in 18th- or 19th-century leather. It consists now of 122 folios, excluding 4 modern flyleaves at the back. These are grouped in 9 fascicles of different size and some inserted folios (for details see the inventory). An original foliation in Roman numerals on the verso goes from fol. 1v to fol. 29v, and from there on it is replaced by old Arabic numerals up to fol. 84v. A newer foliation appears on the rectos of fol. 1 to 131 (fol. 120-124 are lacking and fol. 128-131 are modern flyleaves with a new index on fol. 130-131).

Though the contents of fol. 1 to 88 are divided into different parts according to the repertoire and the writer's hands, the paper used for this part forms a unit. This can be proved by the watermarks:

Basilisk: fol. 1-34, 42, 48, 49, 51, 55, 59, 66-71, 80-83.
Mount: 35-40, 53, 57.
Bell: 46, 50, 85, 86.
Arc: 72, 73, 78.

Fol. 89 to 127 have as watermark a crown (the paper is harder than that of the preceding fascicles). All these watermarks can be found on Italian papers of the last part of the 14th century [4]: Basilisk, Bologna 1390; Bell, from 1379 in Italy; Mount, Siena 1390; Arc, Fano 1380; Crown, Venice 1387.

The whole codex has the typical Italian staves of 6 lines: fol. 1-88, 8 staves a page; fol. 89-119, 7 staves a page. The staves of fol. 13-34 are red. The different parts of *PR* are as follows: fol. 1-62 (fasc. 1-5) the space occupied by writing measures 19,6 x 17,5; fol. 63-88 (fasc. 6 and 7) 21,3 x 18 and fol. 89 ff. (fasc. 8 and 9) 20,2 x 15 cm.

Regarding the different hands we discover the following:
— *Italian* works (fasc. 1-4 and first part of fasc. 5) written by hand A: fol. 1-39v, 43-44, 47v-52v; written by hands B and C: fol. (39v)-41, 44v-46. In some cases (especially with the Italian pieces in fasc. 1 and 2 written in later — for example No. 18) it is difficult to distinguish between the different "Italian" hands.
— *French* works (fasc. 5 second part) written by hand D: fol. 53-62v; written in later by hand D in other fascicles: bottom of fol. 12v/13, fol. 46v/47, bottom of fol. 65v/66, bottom of fol. 72v/73, text of No. 146, second strophe of No. 135.
— *French* works (fasc. 6 and 7) written by hand E: fol. 63-84 (probably up to the music of fol. 86). Fasc. 6/7 contain 2 or perhaps 3 Italian pieces also written by hand E.

[4] cf. C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1907, Nos. 788, 791, 799, 4614, 11890, pl. C.

— *French* works (fasc. 8 and 9) of the Dufay period written by hand F: fol. 89-119 (including one Italian piece written by hand F too).
— The *original index* on fol. 126v/127 containing pieces written by hands D and E (except Nos. 25 and 183 which were probably left out unintentionally) seems to be written by hand D on paper with the same watermark as fol. 89-119. The ink used by hand D is perceptibly darker than that of the other hands.

From this analysis it can be concluded that the first written parts of *PR* have to be fascicles 6 and 7 (hand E) and fascs. 1 to 5 (Italian part, hands A, B, C). Writer D completed the empty *staves* of fascicle 5 and later on wrote some pieces and texts in empty spaces of fascs. 1-5 (first part) and 6/7. It may be assumed that the same writer D put the fascicles together, added the blank leaves of fascs. 8 and 9 and wrote on the last folios an index of the pieces written by himself and by hand E (nearly all French pieces). Hand F added some 30 years later the *staves and music* on fol. 89v-119. This hypothesis will be confirmed by the contents of the different parts of the manuscript. In any case the following analytical tables must be drawn separately for each section of the codex, i.e. pieces written by hands A, B, C, by hand D, by hand E and by hand F.

The composers (* = unica)

Composer	No. of works	Number in *PR*
Pieces written by hands A, B, C:		
Bartolino da Padua	26 (or 27)	24, 26-37, 38?*, 39-47, 85, 87, 89, 90
Giovanni da Cascia	3	23, 63, 67
Henricus (= Arrigo)	1	49*
Jacobelus Bianchi	2	50*, 52*
Jacopo da Bologna	20 (or 22)	1-3, 5-16, 17?*, 19, 20?*, 21, 22, 64, 69
Johannes Baçus Correçarius de Bononia	1	68
Landini (Franciscus)	18	18, 53, 56, 70, 71, 74-76, 93-97, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105
Paulus (Paolo?)	1	48*
Pieces written by hand D:		
Alanus	1	25
Antonello da Caserta	2	91, 92
Egidius	1	108
Franciscus	1	112
Machaut	1	109
Pykini	1	129
Senleches	2	118, 127

Composer	No. of works	Number in *PR*
Pieces written by hand E:		
Filipoctus de Caserta	2 (1?)	172, 183?
Franciscus	1	173
Goscalch	1	170
Grimace	1	144
Landini	2	148, 184
Machaut	6	130, 134, 135, 143, 145, 150
Pierre des Molins	1	149
Petrus de Vigiliis	1 (Tripl.)	147
Pieces written by hand F:		
Bartolomeo da Bononia	1	206*
Binchois	3	194, 201, 208*
Dufay	9	186*, 195-197, 202, 204, 209, 210*, 213
Fontaine	1	218
Grenon	3	188, 189, 216*
Legrant, J.	1	193

Looking at the first part of this table (Italian pieces), the great number of works by Jacopo and Bartolino (all anonymous in *PR*) is characteristic. Both are composers from the Northeast of Italy. The first fascicle of *PR* is devoted to the old master Jacopo who was at the court of Mastino II della Scala at Verona. The position in the codex (top of the page) and the style of Nos. 17 and 20 make Jacopo's authorship likely [5]. The second fascicle contains the works of Bartolino, who was a contemporary of Landini. Before 1387 he was at the court of Francesco Carrara the Elder in Padua [5a]. Probably No. 38 (at the top of page) is also by Bartolino [5]. Henricus (= Arrigo in *Pit*), the composer of No. 49, may not be the same man as Henricus Helene mentioned in the text of the musician motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* [6] as Reaney suggested, before R. H. Hoppin found him in 1335 at Sens [7].

Hand D wrote works by composers of somewhat later date than those whose works were written by hand E. This is shown especially by the 6 works of Machaut and by the pieces of P. des Molins, Grimace and No. 131 (a work appearing in *Ca*; see remarks to No. 131) written by hand E. But the date between hands D and E is certainly not far apart, as

[5] Cf. K. v. Fischer, "Drei unbekannte Werke von Jacopo da Bologna und Bartolino da Padua?" in *Homenaje a Mons. H. Anglès,* Barcelona 1958.

[5a] Cf. S. Clercx in *Revue Belge de Musicologie;* X (1956), p. 155.

[6] Cf. Reaney, "The manuscript Chantilly", in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), p. 70/71.

[7] Cf. R. H. Hoppin's lecture at the *Colloque International d'Ars nova* (Wégimont, 1955).

Machaut and Franciscus appear in both parts. Important for the date of these fascicles seems to me the fact that neither Borlet, Cunelier, Reyneau, Solage nor Trebor, all represented in *Ch,* are found in *PR* [8]. In view of the Italian origin of *PR* it is important to note that Ciconia, settled at Padua since 1402/03 [9], is not represented in *PR*. The absence of his name may give us also a clue to the date of the Ms.

For the last part of *PR* the situation is clear insofar as it contains works of the Dufay period, say about 1435.

The forms

Species	Total	Species	Total
Written by hands A, B, C:		*Written by hand F:*	
Madrigals [10]	40 (one piece twice: No. 13 = No. 44)	Virelais	1
		Rondeaux	30
Ital. Ballatas [10]	61	Rondeau Refrains	3
Caccia	1	Chanson	1
Written by hand D:		*Written by hand E:*	
Virelais	10 (two with isorhythmic Tenor: Nos. 106, 115)	Virelais	19
		Ballades	25
		Rondeaux	—
Ballades	18	Rondeau Refrains	5 (one isorhythmic: No. 152).
Rondeaux	2		
		Italian Ballatas	2 (or 3: Nos. 184 and 185 are tablatures)
		Chanson (Rondeau?)	1 (No. 132)

PR contains only secular music in the Italian or French language. This contrasts significantly with such codices as *Ch, Mod* and *O,* which include motets and mass movements. The forms in the first, Italian part are those normal in the Italian Trecento. The presence of only one Caccia and the relatively great number of three-part works are points worth noting (Nos. 22 and 69 appear in *PR* for three voices, in the later *Sq* for two voices only). Typical of the old Italian tradition represented by *PR* is the almost exclusive use of 2^2-voice writing.

A comparison of the forms of pieces written by hands D and E shows

[8] For the dates of composers cf. Reaney, "The manuscript Chantilly", in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), p. 63 ff.

[9] Cf. S. Clercx in *Revue Belge de Musicologie* IX (1955), p. 49.

[10] The numbers given for *PR* in my *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* on p. 83 must be corrected.

a percentage majority of Virelais written by hand E (especially two-voice ones, not existing in the part written by hand D). Hand E too has a predilection for four-voice Ballades. A striking feature is a relatively great number of realistic Virelais to be found in both parts (Nos. 106, 115, 117, 129, 141, 144, 169).

The last part of *PR* (hand F) shows the dominating position of the Rondeau in the first decades of the 15th century.

Concordances

Source	Number of conc.	Number in *PR*
Pieces written by hands A, B, C:		
Fa (tablatures)	9	2, 3, 5, 9, 14, 26, 42, 44, 104
FC	2	8, 13
FP	38	1, 2, 3, 5, 6-16, 18, 19, 23, 26, 45, 53, 56, 57, 63, 67, 69, 70, 71, 76, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105
Lo	20	2, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19, 26, 28, 39, 42, 45, 57, 63, 69, 70, 71, 93, 95, 99, 104
Luc	11 (12)	26, 27, 30, 33, (36), 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 70, 97
Mod	3 (4)	33, (34), 44, 90
PadA	6	9, 68, 70, 71, 97, 102
PadC	2	9, 15
Pist	1	105
Pit	29	3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 19, 23, 26, 44, 45, 49, 53, 56, 70, 71, 75, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 105
RO	1	67
Sq	66	1, 2, 3, 5-16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26-37, 39-47, 53, 56, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 85, 87, 89, 90, 93-97, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105
Pieces written by hand D:		
BolH	1	119
Ch	4	109, 112, 127, 129
Mach	1	109
Mod	7	91, 92, 108, 116, 118, 120, 127
PadB	1	118
Pit	1	138
Str	6	25, 110, 116, 118, 125, 166

Source	Number of conc.	Number in *PR*
Pieces written by hand E:		
Autun	1	173
CaB	1	149
Ch	7	134, 144, 149, 170, 172, 173, 183
Fa (tablatures)	5	136, 137, 146, 149, 150
FP	7	130, 137, 147, 148 (Ital.), 149, 150, 184 (Ital.)
Iv	1	169
Lo	1	169
Mach	6	130, 134, 135, 143, 145, 150
McV	1	149
Melk	1	176
Mod	6	131, 135, 150, 171, 172, 183
MüEm	2	137, 184
PadC	1	169
Parma	1	147
Pit	10	130, 137, 147, 148 (Ital.), 149, 150, 169, 171, 173, 184 (Ital.)
Pr	5	131, 147, 154, 157, 176
Sq	2	148 (Ital.), 184 (Ital.)
Str	14	131, 134, 137, 141, 147, 149, 150, 152, 154, 157, 160, 169, 176, 184
Tit	1	137
Trém	11 (12?)	130, 134, 136, 137, 142, 143, 149, 150, 151, 173, 176, 182?
Villingen	1	163
Vorau	1	131
WolkA and B	2	154, 176
Pieces written by hand F:		
Bern	1	215
BU	2	189, 209
EscA	2	194, 196
MüEm	1	197
O	11	188, 189, 194, 195, 196, 197, 202, 204, 209, 213, 218
PC	2	195, 209
Pz	2	189, 218
Str	2	196, 218
Tr 87	2	193, 195

This table of concordances shows a close relationship between the Italian part of *PR* and the central Trecento Mss. (*FP, Lo, Pit, Sq*). The connection of *PR* to *PadA* (6 concordances of the 10 Italian secular pieces in the fragmentary *PadA*), to *Fa* (9 of the 13 Italian secular pieces of *Fa*)

and to *Luc* is striking. Fifteen pieces from *PR* are mentioned in Prudenzani's Saporetto (*Soll*). It seems to me quite possible that the writer of *Fa* transcribed his works from *PR* because five of the French pieces (hand E) are found in *Fa* too. For two of them (Nos. 136 and 146) no other concordance is known (except *Trém* for No. 136). This hypothesis is strongly supported by the appearance of the same tablature notation in *PR* (Nos. 185 and 186) and in *Fa*.

The special character and the great importance of the Italian part of *PR* is due to the great number of anonymous *unica:* 29 pieces, especially in fascicles 3 and 4 (three of those in fascicles 1 and 2 are possibly works of Bartolino and Jacopo).

The pieces written by hand D reveal points of contact with *Ch* and especially with *Mod* (fasc. 2-4 of *Mod*). Important for such relationships are concordances with only two or three Mss. Thus eight works appear nowhere else, while Nos. 91, 92, 108, 116, 120 are in *Mod,* Nos. 112 and 129 in *Ch,* and No. 127 in *Mod* and *Ch*. No concordance has been found with *Trém* (written in 1376).

The concordances of pieces by hand E show a different situation. Only four works appear in no other Ms. than *Ch* and *Mod* (Nos. 144 and 170 in *Ch,* Nos. 172 and 183 [both works of F. de Caserta] in *Ch* and *Mod*). The older character of this part is supported by the concordances with *Mach* (6 pieces) and with *Trém* (11 or 12 pieces; two or three of them appear only in *Trém* and *PR*). A direct contact between *PR, Trém* and *Mach* on the one hand, with the original sources of *Ch* and *Mod* (fascs. 2-4) on the other, but not with *Ch* and *Mod* directly, seems possible. This last point is supported by the difference in the number of the voices in some cases: No. 131 *PR* 4^1, *Mod* 3^1 (with a new Ct); No. 149 *PR* 4^1 (like *CaB*!), *Ch* and *Mod* 3^1. The great number of concordances of both French parts of *PR* (i.e. of the last part too) with *Str* (6, 14 and 2 pieces, of which Nos. 141, 152, 160 and 166 are only found in *PR* and *Str*) suggests the possibility that the writer of *Str* knew *PR*.

The last part of *PR* reveals important links with the Ms. *O* (11 pieces, nos. 188, 202, 204 and 213 appearing in *O* and *PR* only). No. 189 has one voice more in *PR* than in *O,* No. 209 one voice less. It may be conjectured that *PR* goes back to the source from which *O* was copied. This view would be supported by the fact that, like *O, PR* (certainly the Italian part) is of North-East Italian origin (see below). The appearence of a Rondeau from *Bern* (No. 215) is interesting. This shows that the writer of *PR* (hand F) knew older sources.

Notation and Language

As mentioned before, the whole codex is written on the Italian six-line staves. The Italian part shows the Italian Trecento notation as it was before

the innovations of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (1412). Striking use is made of the Italian *punctus divisionis* (dividing a length in Breve-measures), often without the Italian mensuration letters: twenty-five pieces note only *puncti divisionis,* these pieces appearing with mensuration letters in other Mss., and fifteen pieces show *puncti divisionis* lacking in most other sources. Four pieces (Nos. 5, 11, 19, 67) are notated in the old Italian Brevis notation, the same pieces appearing in *FP* in Longa notation. All this confirms that *PR* is strongly connected with the old Italian tradition. From the linguistic point of view, the texts of *PR* suggest an origin in the Venetian or Emilian part of Northern Italy (Padua, Verona, Venice and Bologna) [11]. Music and texts of the first part of *PR* are in good condition.

Both French parts (hands D and E) are written in French notation. Exceptionally the French mensuration signs are used, though these may have been added later. Red notes appear only in the part written by hand E. Hand D uses hollow white notes in corresponding passages. The French texts often show a Picard influence, cf. *plasanche, canteir, vo* = vostre. But it seems that it was an Italian who wrote the texts, cf. *bosgolin, sason.* Especially the works written by hand E are corrupt musically as well as in the texts, which are often incomplete (cf. the pieces by Machaut; in No. 135 the text was completed by hand D).

The last part of *PR* forms an excellent and central source for the Dufay period. In contrast to *O* the notation is in black. The relatively early date of the pieces contained in these last two fascicles is supported by the use of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione majore* [12]. The texts are correct and written in French that is no dialect.

Date and origin

Unfortunately, precise indications of dates given by the texts are not frequent in *PR*. For the Italian part a *terminus post quem* is indicated by Nos. 27, 28, 37, 44 and 84, which must have been written before 1398 [13]. The latest datable piece written by hand D indicates 1382 as *terminus a quo* (No. 127). Other dates are given by Nos. 108, 110 and 112. Within the works of hand E no definite date can be given except that of Machaut's death (1377). The same is to be said of the last part (hand F) in relation to Dufay's sojourns in Italy.

[11] For the linguistic information I am indebted to Prof. Dr. K. Jaberg, Berne.

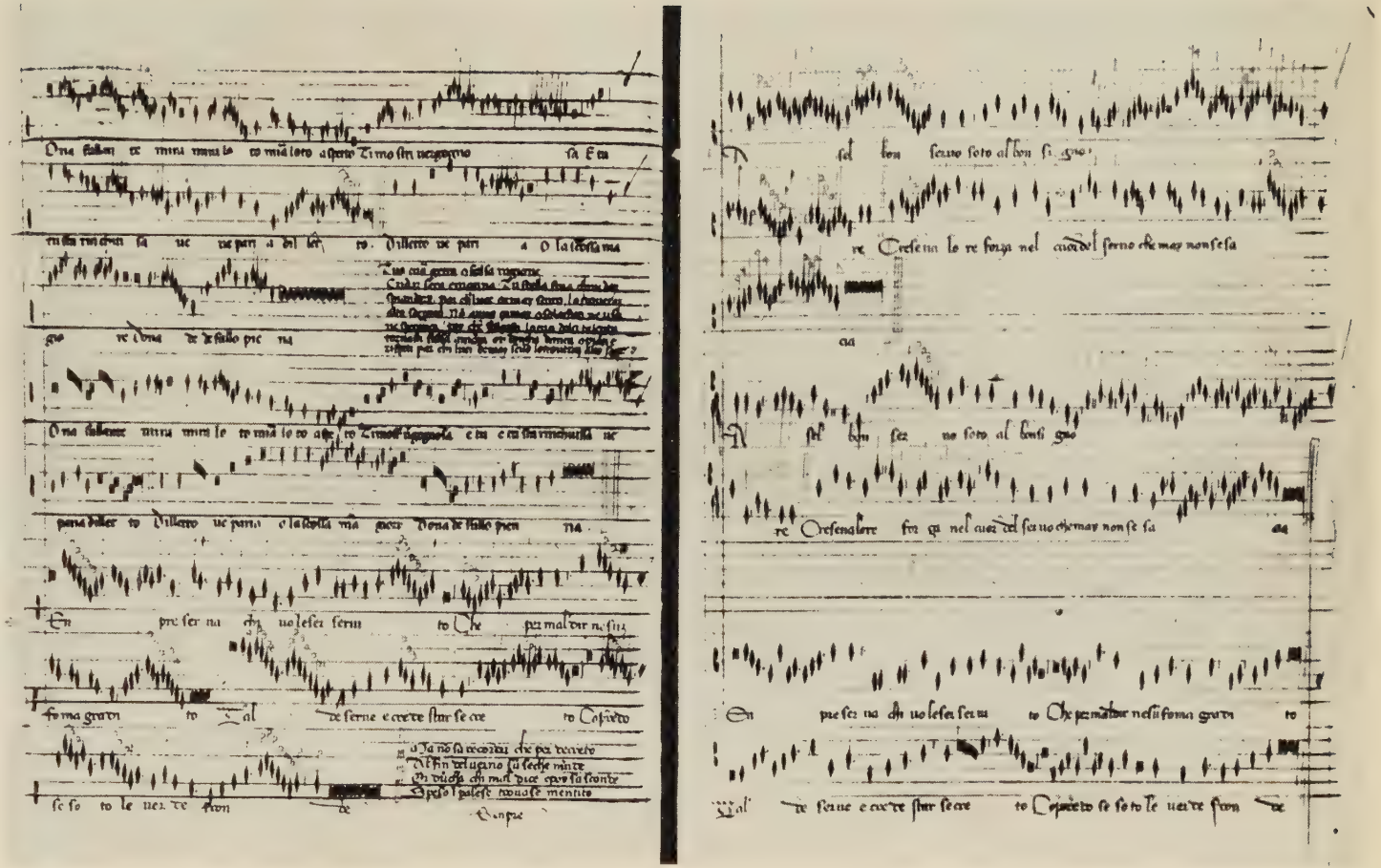
[12] For the rhythmic problems cf. H. Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* Leipzig 1950.

[13] Cf. K. v. Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento,* Repertoire catalogue and p. 96.

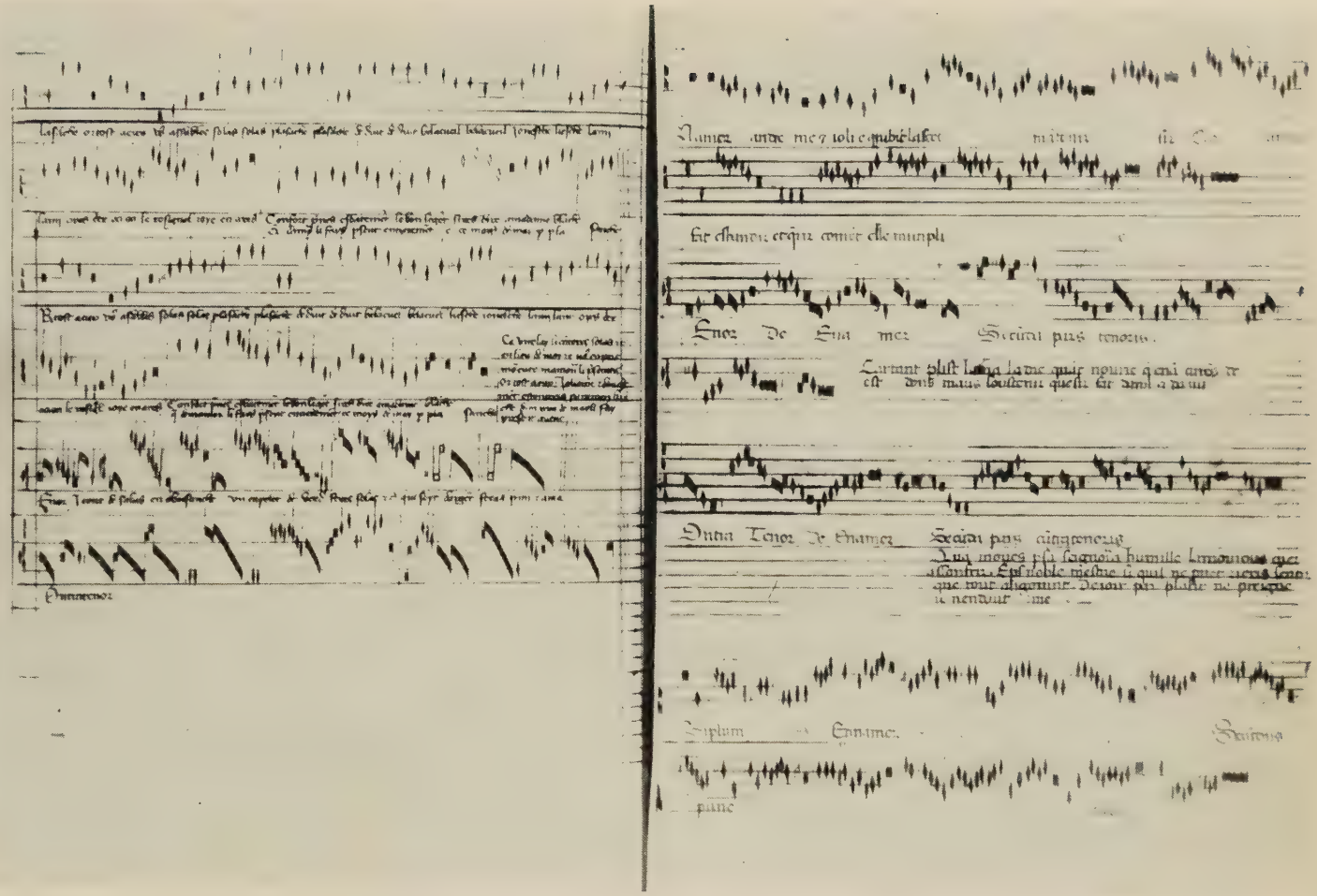
To sum up, the analysis of composers, concordances, notation, language, style and order of the whole manuscript indicates that the French part written by hand E and the Italian part (hands A, B, C) must be the oldest ones. Hand E may belong to the last years of the 14th century, having known sources like *CaB, Trém, Mach,* while hands A, B, C (the Italian part) belong to the very first years of the 15th century. Hand D is somewhat later, but hardly later than 1410, especially showing probable resemblances to the unknown original sources of *Ch* and *Mod* (fascs. 2-4). The last part of *PR* was copied before the Ms. *O*. We may date it between 1430 and 1440. Since the Italian part of *PR* was evidently written in the North-East of Italy, and since the last part of it seems to be connected with the original source of *O* (written in Venice), I presume that the whole corpus of *PR* was written in the district enclosed by Padua, Verona and Venice. My personal hypothesis leads me especially to Venice, as this town had commercial relations with Picardie and with the Flemish countries (cf. Nos. 114, 153 and 157). The Scaliger text of No. 84 and the works of Jacopo could possibly be related to a writer in Venice, as the Scaliger escaped in 1387 to Venice.

WORKS CITED IN THE PRESENT INVENTORY

AfMW	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.
ApF	W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century,* Cambridge, Mass. 1950.
ApN	W. Apel, *The Notation of polyphonic Music 900-1600,* fourth ed., Cambridge, Mass. 1949.
Bar	D. Bartha, *Anthologie zur Musikgeschichte,* Budapest 1948.
BessMR	H. Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,* Potsdam 1931.
BorrD	Ch. van den Borren, *Guillaume Dufay,* Brussels 1926.
BorrS	Ch. van den Borren, *Le ms. musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibl. de Strasbourg,* Antwerp 1924.
CorSc	A. della Corte, *Scelta di musiche per lo studio della storia,* second ed., Milan 1939.
CS	C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica medii aevi nova series,* Paris 1864-76.
DaAp	A. T. Davison and W. Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music,* Vol. I, Cambridge, Mass. 1947; 2nd ed. 1949.
Dann	E. Dannemann, *Die spätgotische Musiktradition in Frankreich und Burgund vor dem Auftreten Dufays,* Strasbourg 1936.
Dez	K. Dèzes, "Der Mensuralcodex des Benediktinerklosters Sancti Emmerami zu Regensburg", in *ZfMW* X. 65 ff
Droz et Thibault	E. Droz and G. Thibault, *Poètes et musiciens du 15e siècle,* Paris 1924.
DTO	*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich,* Jahrgang IX, 1 (*Wolkenstein*), Vienna 1902; Jahrgang VII (*Trienter Codices* I), Vienna 1900; Jahrgang XI, 1 (*Trienter Codices* II), Vienna 1904.
Ei	A. Einstein, *Beispielsammlung zur Musikgeschichte,* Leipzig and Berlin 1930 (new edition contained in *Geschichte der Musik,* Zürich 1953).
EllL	L. Ellinwood, "F. Landini and His Music", in *Musical Quarterly* XXII (1936), 190.
EllWL	L. Ellinwood, *The Works of F. Landini,* Cambridge, Mass. 1945.
Ex	*Expositione Nat. dei Conservator. mus. e delle Bibl.,* Catalogo, Florence 1950.
FiA	K. v. Fischer, "Drei unbekannte Werke von Jacopo da Bologna und Bartolino da Padua?", in *Homenaje a Mons. Higino Anglés,* Barcelona 1958.
FiStd	K. v. Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento,* Bern 1956.
FiV	K. v. Fischer, "Die Variation", in *Das Musikwerk,* Cologne 1956.
Ga	R. Gandolfi, *Illustrazioni di alcuni cimeli concernenti l'arte musicale in Firenze,* Firenze 1892.
Gast	A. Gastoué, *Actes du Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art,* Paris 1924.
Gen	F. Gennrich, *Abriss der Mensuralnotation des 14. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts,* Nieder-Modau 1948.
Gle	H. Gleason, *Examples of Music before 1400,* New York 1942.



Facs. 1. *PR*, fol. 39v/40, written by hands A and B.



Facs. 2. *PR*, fol. 62v/63, written by hands D and E.

HistS	*The History of Music in sound* (accompanying book III,) Oxford 1953.
Hus	H. Husmann, "Die mittelalterliche Mehrstimmigkeit", in *Das Musikwerk,* Köln 1955.
Ka	F. Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI. E. 9,* Brno 1931.
Kie	R. G. Kiesewetter, *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unserer heutigen Musik,* second ed., 1846.
Lauda	For the pieces sung as Laude see F. Ghisi, "Strambotti e Laude nel travestimento spirituale della poesia musicale del Quattrocento", in *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* I, 45, Florence 1953.
LenN	R. B. Lenaerts, *Het Nederlands Polifonies Lied in de 16de Eeuw,* Mechelen and Amsterdam 1933.
LiGoPa	E. LiGotti, *La Poesia musicale italiana del sec. XIV,* Palermo 1944.
Löpelmann	M. Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan,* Göttingen 1923.
LuK	F. Ludwig, "Musik des Mittelalters in der Badischen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe", in *ZfMW* V, 434.
LuMa	F. Ludwig, *G. de Machaut, Musikalische Werke,* Leipzig, 4 vols., 1926-29 and 1954 (reprinted 1954).
Marix	J. Marix, *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au 15e siècle,* Paris 1937.
MarrC	W. Th. Marrocco, *Fourteenth Century Italian Cacce,* Cambridge, Mass. 1942 (second edition in preparation).
MarrJ	W. Th. Marrocco, *The music of Jacopo da Bologna,* Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954.
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Allg. Enzyklopädie der Musik,* ed. by F. Blume, Kassel and Basel 1949 ff.
NOxf	*The New Oxford History of Music,* vol. III, Oxford 1958.
Ost	W. Osthoff, "Petrarca in der Musik des Abendlandes", in *Castrum Peregrini* vol. XX., Amsterdam 1954.
PirrC	N. Pirrotta, "Per l'origine e la storia della caccia e del madrigale trecentesco", in *Rivista Musicale Italiana* XLVIII (1946), 305 ff. and XLIX (1947), 121 ff.
PirrMF	N. Pirrotta, *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy,* vol. I, Amsterdam 1954 (CMM 8).
PlF	D. Plamenac, "Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Cod. Faenza 117", in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* IV (1951), 179.
ReaCh	G. Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1047", in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 59-113.
ReeM	G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages,* New York 1940.
Rehm	W. Rehm, *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois,* Mainz 1957.
RieM	H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte,* Vol. I. II and II. I, Leipzig 1901, 1913.
SchB	A. Schering, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen,* Leipzig 1931.
SchSt	A. Schering, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance,* Leipzig 1914.
SerC	*Le Cronache di Ser Giov. Sercambi,* edn. by S. Bongi, Lucca 1892.
SchraMa	*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* Vol. III (*The works of G. de Machaut,* second part), Monaco, 1956.
SerN	Sercambi, "Novelle", edn. by R. Pratt, in Wm. F. Bryan, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucers Canterbury Tales,* 1941.
SIMG	Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft.

Soll	S. Debenedetti, *Il Sollazzo,* Turin 1922 (The numbers are relative to the sonnets of Prodenzani's *Saporetto,* ed. S. Debenedetti, 169 ff.).
Stainer	Sir John J. F. R. and C. Stainer, *Dufay and his contemporaries,* London 1898.
To	L. Torchi, *L'arte musicale in Italia,* vol. I, Milan and Rome 1897.
WoF	J. Wolf, "Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts", in *SIMG* III, 1902, 599.
WoG	J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250-1460,* 3 vol., Leipzig 1904. To be corrected in many details by Ludwig's review, *SIMG* VI, 597 ff.
WoH	J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* vol. I, Leipzig 1913.
WoN	J. Wolf, "Musica Fiorentina nel secolo XIV", in *La Nuova musica,* Florence 1896-1919, three supplementary vols.
WoSq	*Der Squarcialupi-Codex Pal. 87 der Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana zu Florenz.* Edn. by J. Wolf, Lippstadt 1955. To be corrected in many details (see my review in *Die Musikforschung* IX, 1956, 77 ff.).
WoT	J. Wolf, *Musikalische Schrifttafeln,* Leipzig 1923.
ZfMW	Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR SIGNATURES

Ao	Aosta, Bibl. del Seminario. Inventory by G. de Van, *Musica Disciplina* II (1948), 22-37.
Autun	Autun 130, see, J. Handschin in *Acta musicologica* X (1938), 28.
Bern	Berne, Burgerbibliothek A 421. List in WoG I, 210; cf. J. Handschin, "Die ältesten Denkmäler mensural notierter Musik in der Schweiz", in *AfMW* V (1923).
BolH	Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria 596 busta HH. Description by Ludwig, *AfMW* V, 285 f., note and Besseler, ibid. VII, 207, and LuMa II, 22.
BU	Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria 2216. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Musica Disciplina* VI (1952), 58 ff.
BL	Bologna, Bibl. G. B. Martini Q 15 (*olim* Liceo Musicale 37). Inventory by G. de Van, *Musica Disciplina* II (1948), 234 ff.
CaB	Cambrai, Bibl. comm. 1328 (1176). See descriptions by F. Ludwig, *AfMW* V (1923), 283 ff. and LuMach II, 20 and H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII (1925), 197 ff.
Ch	Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047. Inventory by G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), 88 ff.
EscA	Escorial Bibl., ms. V. III. 24. Description by P. Aubry, *SIMG* VIII (1907), 517 ff. (corrections by H. Besseler, *MGG* III, Sp. 1521).
Fa	Faënza, Bibl. Comunale 117 (Cod. Bonadies), Inventory of the tablature part by D. Plamenac, *Journal of the American Musicolog. Soc.* VI (1951), 179.
FC	Florence, Bibl. del Conservatorio D 1175. Description in FiStd, 10.
FP	Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 26. Provisional list in WoG I, 245 ff.

Iv	Ivrea, Bibl. capitolare. Inventory by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII (1925), 188 ff.
Lo	London, Brit. Mus., Add. 29987. Provisional list in WoG I, 268.
Luc	Lucca, Archivio di Stato (Codex Mancini) and Perugia, Bibl. Comunale. Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Musica Disciplina* III (1949), 134 ff.
Mach	Machaut mss. Full descriptions in LuMa II.
McV	London, Brit. Mus., Add. 41667 I. Inventory by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII (1925), 196.
Melk	Melk J 1. See LuMa II, 20a, note 2.
Mod	Modena, Bibl. Estense M 5.24 (*olim* lat. 568). Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Atti della Reale Acad. di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* Serie 4, vol. V. 2 (1944-45); offprint 1946.
MüEm	Munich, Staatsbibl., mus. 3232a. Inventory in Dez, 78 ff.
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213. Inventory by G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* IX (1955) 86 ff.
PadA	Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, mss. 1475 and 684 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Pat. lat. 229. Inventory by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII, 228 and VIII, 235.
PadB	Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, ms. 1115, Inventory by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VIII, 233.
PadC	Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, ms. 658. Description by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII (1925), 231/232.
Parma	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Inventory by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII, 231.
PC	Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. frç. 4379. Inventory of fol. 1-42 v by D. Plamenac, *Musical Quarterly* XXXVIII (1952), 100 ff., 248 ff., 260 ff., incomplete inventory of fol. 43-60 v, WoG I 211-13; index of tenors of fol. 61-65 by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII (1925), 233.
Pist	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo. Inventory by F. Ghisi, *Musica Disciplina* I (*Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*) 1946, 180.
Pit	Paris, Bibl. Nat., ital. 568. Provisional list in WoG I, 252 ff.
Pr	Prague, Universitäts-Bibl., XI. E. 9. Inventory in Ka.
Pz	Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. frç. 4917. Inventory in the manuscript dissertation by Ph. Möller, *Die französischen Lieder der Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. n.a. frç. 4917,* Dissertation Frankfurt a.M. 1944.
RO	Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Ottob. 1790. Inventory by Ludwig, *AfMW* V, 201.
Sq	Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Palat. 87, Codex Squarcialupi. List in WoG I, 233 ff. See further WoSq.
Str	Strasbourg, Bibl. de la ville, M. 222 C. 22. Inventory in BorrS.
Tit	London, Brit. Mus., Cotton Titus A XXVI. Index by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VII (1925), 233.
Tr87	Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio 87. Inventory by Koller, DTO VII, 31-80.
Trém	Château de Serrant (Maine-et-Loire), ms. of the duchess de la Trémoille. Inventory by H. Besseler, *AfMW* VIII (1927), 235 ff.
Villingen	See LuMa II, 42.
Vorau	Vorau (Steiermark), Stiftsbibl. Cod. 380. Description by H. Federhofer, *Acta Musicologica* XXII (1950), 1.
WolkA	Vienna, Nationalbibl., ms. 2777. See DTO IX, 1.
WolkB	Innsbruck, Univ. Bibl. See DTO IX, 1.

ABBREVIATIONS

an.	anonymous
B	Ballade
C	Cantus
Ca	Caccia
Ch	Chanson
Ct	Contratenor
Edn.	Edition (modern); in brackets the Ms. after which the edition is done
Frag.	Fragment
isRr	Isorhythmic Rondeau Refrain
itB	Italian Ballata
Ma	Madrigal
R	Rondeau
R.F.	Remède de Fortune
Rit	Ritornello
Rr	Rondeau Refrain
T	Tenor
Tab	Tablature
Tripl	Triplum
V	Virelais

REMARKS ON THE TEXT-INCIPITS AND TO THE NUMBER OF VOICES

Beginning of text: The text-incipits are given in the version of *PR*, even if corrupt (Cantus text, or corrected after another voice of *PR*). In most cases the first letter is lacking (except for the last part of *PR*) or only sketched.

Number of voices: The number indicates the number of voices. The exponent indicates the number of full texted voices. 3^2 means: C and T with full text; 3^{2c} the two upper voices with full text; 3^{1+1+1} all three voices with different text.

INVENTORY OF PARIS BIBL. NAT. n.a. frç. 6771 (CODEX REINA)

(*PR*)

SECTION I. ITALIAN WORKS

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fascicle 1 (hand A):					
1	1	Lo lume vostro	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 67v; *Sq* f. 15v/16	Comp. about 1350. Acrostic *Lucchinus* (Visconti) incomplete in *PR*. Edn. MarrJ, 56 (*FP*); WoSq, 34.
2	1v/2	Sot(t)o l'imperio	3^3	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 71v/72; *Lo* f. 1v/2; *Sq* f. 7v/8; *Fa,* no. 18 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Rispetto - Madrigal. Edn. MarrJ, 95 (*FP*); WoSq, 17; To, no. 1. Facs. MarrJ, front pl. (*Sq*), Ga, VIII (*Sq*).
3	2v/3	Aquil' altera ferma (C) Creatura gentil (Ct) Ocel de [Dio], insegna de iustitia (T)	3^{1+1+1}	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 91v/92; *Pit* f. 2v/3; *Sq* f. 8v/9; *Fa,* no. 22 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	*Aquila-Uccel di Dio* Symbol for the Emperor, possibly Charles IV (1354/55, first Rome trip). Soll, no. 25. Edn. MarrJ, 31 (*FP*); WoSq, 19; Hus, 50 (*FP*); Facs. WoT, no. 79 (*Sq*); ApN, 375 (*Pit*).
4	3	De, no me fare languire	2^2	itB	—	—	—
5	3v	Non al so amante	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 71; *Pit* f. 4v/5; *Sq* 10v/11; *Fa,* no. 25 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Petrarch Text. Soll, no. 48. Edn. MarrJ, 69 (*Pit*); WoSq, 23; DaAp, no. 49 (*PR*); Ost (*PR*); Facs. Ex, 80 (*FP*); Ost (*PR*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
6	4	Un bel sparver	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 73v/74; *Pit* f. 3v/4; *Sq* f. 9v/10	Edn. MarrJ, 108 (*FP*); WoSq, 21; WoG II/III No. 40 (*Sq*); RieM, I, 315 (*Sq*); Facs. WoT, no. 77/78 (*Sq*).
7	4v	Tanto che sit' aquistati	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 61; *Sq* f. 14v/15	Edn. MarrJ, 101 (*FP*); WoSq, 32.
8	5	Nel bel çardino	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 63v; *Pit* f. 7v/8; *Sq* f. 9v/10, *FC* (C only)	Edn. MarrJ, 63 (*FP*); WoSq, 22; Facs. WoT, no. 77/78 (*Sq*).
9	5v	O ciecho mondo	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 65; *Pit* f. 5v/6; *Sq* f. 11v/12; *PadC,* no. 1 (an.), *PadA,* no. 26 (an., Frag. only, cf. FiStd, 27); *Fa,* no. 21 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Edn. MarrJ, 71 (*FP*); WoSq, 25; Facs. MarrJ, pl. 6 (*PadC*); MGG, III, pl. 52 (*Fa*).
10	6	Prima virtute	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 66v/77; *Lo* f. 13v/14; *Pit* 9v/10; *Sq* f. 12v/13	Madrigal with double Ritornello. Edn. MarrJ, 87 (*FP*); WoSq, 29. Facs. MarrJ, pl. 3 (*PR*).
11	6v	O in Ital(l)ia, fellice Liguria	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 64; *Sq* f. 17v/18	Rispetto - Madrigal. Birth of the Visconti twins (1346). Edn. MarrJ, 76 (*PR*); WoSq, 37.
12	7	Oselleto salvaço	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 68v/69; *Lo* f. 16v/17; *Sq* f. 12v/13	Edn. MarrJ, 78 (*FP*); WoSq, 26; WoG II/III, no. 41 (*Sq*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
13	7v	O dolce apres' un bel perlaro	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 62v; *Lo* f. 2v/3 and f. 4v/5 (an.); *Pit* f. 8v/9; *Sq* f. 14v/15; *FC* (T only)	Rispetto - Madrigal. Senhals *Anna,* MarrJ, 74 (*FP*). Facs. MarrJ, pl. 2 (*Pit*).
14	8	Io me sun un che	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 64v; *Sq* f. 32; *Fa* no. 24 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Madrigal with double Ritornello. Composed before 1351 (cf. PirrC II, 134). Edn. MarrJ, 45 (*FP*); WoSq, 36.
15	8v/9	Oselleto selvaço	3^{2c} Rit. 3^3	Ca	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 72v/73; *Pit* f. 43v/44; *Sq* f. 13v; *PadC* (Rit. only)	Madrigal composed as Caccia. Edn. MarrJ, 111 (*Sq*); MarrC, no. 20 (*Sq*); WoSq, 27; WoG II/III, no. 42 (*Sq*); Facs. MarrC, pl. V (*Pit*).
16	9	Posando sopra un aqua	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 65v; *Pit* f. 6v/7; *Sq* f. 10v/11	Edn. MarrJ, 84 (*FP*); WoSq, 24; WoH, 321 (*Pit* and *Sq*).
17	9v/10	Nel prato pien de fiorj	3^3	Ma	(Jacopo?)	—	Ritornello with Canon between the upper voices. Text with Caccia-character (cf. the word *suflo* in the music). Composer cf. Introduction p. 5. Edn. FiA.
18	10/9v	Poyche da te	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 5; *Lo* f. 37 (an.); *Sq* f. 142v	Edn. EllWL, no. 88; WoSq, 246.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
19	10v	Di novo è giunto	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 68; *Lo* f. 3v/4; *Pit* f. 10v; *Sq* f. 11v/12	Edn. MarrJ, 36 (*Sq*); WoSq, 26; ReeM, 363 (*Sq*). Facs. ReeM, pl. VIII (*Sq*).
20	11	Gridavan tuti: viva	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo?)	—	Edn. FiA. Composer cf. Introduction, p. 41.
21	11v	Fenice fu' e vissi	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*Sq* f. 16'/17	Edn. MarrJ, 40 (*Sq*); WoSq, 35; BessMR, 156 (*Sq*); Bar, 23 (*Sq*).
22	12/11v	I' sentì' ça come l'archo	3^3	Ma	(Jacopo)	*Sq* f. 15'/16 (2^2)	Edn. MarrJ, 53 (*PR*); WoSq, 33 (2 voc.).
23	12v	Agnel son biancho	2^2	Ma	(Giovanni)	*FP* f. 48v/49; *Pit* f. 18v/19; *Sq* f. 1	Soll, no. 25. Edn. PirrMF I, no. 2 (*FP*); WoSq, 3; WoF, 633 (*Sq*). Facs. Ga, pl. VII (*Sq*).
		Fascicle 2 (hand A):					
24	13	Inperialle sedendo (cf. no. 44)	(C only)	Ma	(Bartolino)	cf. no. 44	cf. no. 44.
25	13/12v	S'en vous por moy pitie (*hand D*)	3^1	V	(Alanus)	*Str*, no. 181 (3^0)	*Str* with indication of a Contrafactum text *Lux juconda.*
26	13v/14	La douce cere	3^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*FP* f. 108v/109 (3^1); *Lo* f. 15v/16 (3^1); *Pit* f. 41v/42 (2^2); *Sq* f. 101v/102 (3^3); *Luc*, no. 1 (an., without C, 3^2); *Fa*, no. 20 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Soll, no. 25. Edn. WoSq, 159; WoG, II/III, no. 45. Facs. Ga, XIV (*Sq*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
27	14	La sacrosanta carità	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 103v/104, *Luc,* no. 7	Composed before 1389. Soll, no. 29? Edn. WoSq, 162.
28	14v/15	Alba colunba con soa verde rama	3^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Lo* f. 12v/13 (2^2); *Sq* f. 105v/106	Comp. 1396? (cf. LiGoPa, 88). Soll, no. 29. Edn. WoSq, 166.
29	15	Sempre se trova	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 103	Edn. WoSq, 162.
30	15v	Senpre, dona, t'amay	3^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 112v (2^2); *Luc,* no. 10	Edn. WoSq, 179.
31	16	Chi tempo a	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 112	Edn. WoSq, 178.
32	16v	Per figura del celo	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 104v/105	Edn. WoSq, 165; WoG II/III, no. 46 (*Sq*).
33	17	Perchè cançato è 'l mondo	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 115; *Luc,* no. 8 (C only); *Mod,* no. 39	Edn. WoSq, 184; WoG II/III, no. 43 (*Sq*). Facs. ApN, 377 (*PR*).
34	17v	El no me giova	3^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 114v; (*Mod,* no. 5, [Ct only; by M. de Perusio])	Edn. WoSq, 183.
34a	18	*Textless line of music (perhaps Rit. of a Madrigal)*	—	—			
35	18	Amor che nel pensier	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 109	Edn. WoSq, 173.
36	18v	Donna liçadra de çafir vestita	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 108v (*Luc,* no. 2, but erased)	Edn. WoSq, 172.
37	19	Ama chi t'ama	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 118v	Composed about 1398. SerC, II, 242. Edn. WoSq, 190.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
38	19v	La biancha selva	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino?)	—	Composer cf. Introduction, p. 41. Edn. FiA.
39	20	Quando la terra partorisce	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Lo* f. 14v/15 and f. 21v/22; *Sq* f. 106v/107	Edn. WoSq, 169.
40	20v	Le aurate chiome nodose	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 107v/108; *Luc,* no. 9 (an., T only)	Soll, no. 29. Edn. WoSq, 170.
41	21	Madon(n)a, bench'io miri	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 110v	Edn. WoSq, 175.
42	21v	Qual lege move	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Lo* f. 20v/21; *Sq* f. 119v/120; *Fa,* no. 19 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Edn. WoSq, 192.
43	22	Non corer troppo	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 116 (with a triplum-like third voice 3^3); *Luc,* no. 11	Edn. WoSq, 186.
44	22v/23	Inperialle sedendo (cf. no. 24)	2^2	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Pit* f. 47v/48 (an.); *Sq* f. 109v/110; *Luc,* no. 62 (an. 3^2); *Mod,* no. 56 (erroneously attributed to *Dactalus de Padua*); *Fa,* no. 23 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Text related to the family of the Carrara. Comp. before 1405 and perhaps before 1388, (death of F. Carrara il Vecchio). Soll, no. 25. Edn. WoSq, 174.
45	23v	Per un verde boschetto	3^3	itB	(Bartolino)	*FP* f. 66 (a fifth lower, 2^2); *Lo* f. 81v/82 (erroneously titled as Madrigal); *Pit* f. 39v/40; *Sq* f. 120v; *Luc,* no. 6 (2^2)	Known as a Lauda. Soll, no. 25. Edn. WoSq, 194; BessMR, 161 (Fragm.).
46	24	Zoia di novi odori	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 119v/120; *Luc,* no. 5	Edn. WoSq, 193.
47	24v	Per subito comando	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 103v/104	Edn. WoSq, 163.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fascicle 3 (hand A):					
48	25	Perch'i' non sep(p)i passar	3^1	itB	Dompni pauli	—	—
49	25v	Il capo biondo	2^2	itB	Henrici	*Pit* f. 97/96v (under the name of *Arrigo*, 2^1)	Edn. WoG, no. 57a/b (*PR* and *Pit*).
50	25v/26	Chi ama ne la lengua	2^2	itB	Jacobeli bianchy	—	Soll, no. 33? Edn. WoG, no. 58.
51	26	Fenir mia vita	2^2	itB	—	—	Soll, no. 48.
52	26v	L'ochi mie piangne	2^2	itB	Jacobeli bianchy	—	—
53	26v/27	Ama, dona, chi t'ama	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 8v; *Pit* f. 61; *Sq* f. 164v	Known as a Lauda. Soll, no. 48. Edn. EllWL, no. 18 (*Sq*); WoSq, 298; Hus, 47 (*FP*).
54	27	Non per mio fallo	2^2	itB	—	—	—
55	27v	Con lagreme sospiro	2^2	itB	—	—	—
56	28	Sie malledeta l'or	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 6v; *Pit* f. 67v/68; *Sq* f. 170v	Edn. EllWL, no. 94; WoSq, 314.
57	28/27v	I son' un pelegrin	2^1	itB	cf. FiStd, p. 56, note 266	*FP* f. 48/47v; *Lo* f. 25; *Pit* f. 42	Soll, no. 25? Edn. DaAp, no. 51 (*Pit*); Ei, no. 11; Bar, 24c.
58	28v	Lasso! per ben servire	2^2	itB	—	—	—
59	29	Dona, se 'l cor m'aperçi	2^2	itB	—	—	—
60	29/28v	Troveraço mercè	2^2	itB	—	—	—
61	29v	Dolce, dolce lo mio drudo	2^2	itB	—	—	—
62	30	Avendo me falc(h)on	2^2	Ma	—	—	—
63	30v/31	O tu! chara sciencia	2^2	Ma	(Giovanni)	*FP* f. 51v/52; *Lo* f. 7v/8; *Sq* f. 5v/6	Edn. PirrMF, I, no. 12 (*FP* and *PR*); *Sq*, 12; SchB, no. 22 (*Sq*); WoN, II, 69 (*Sq*).

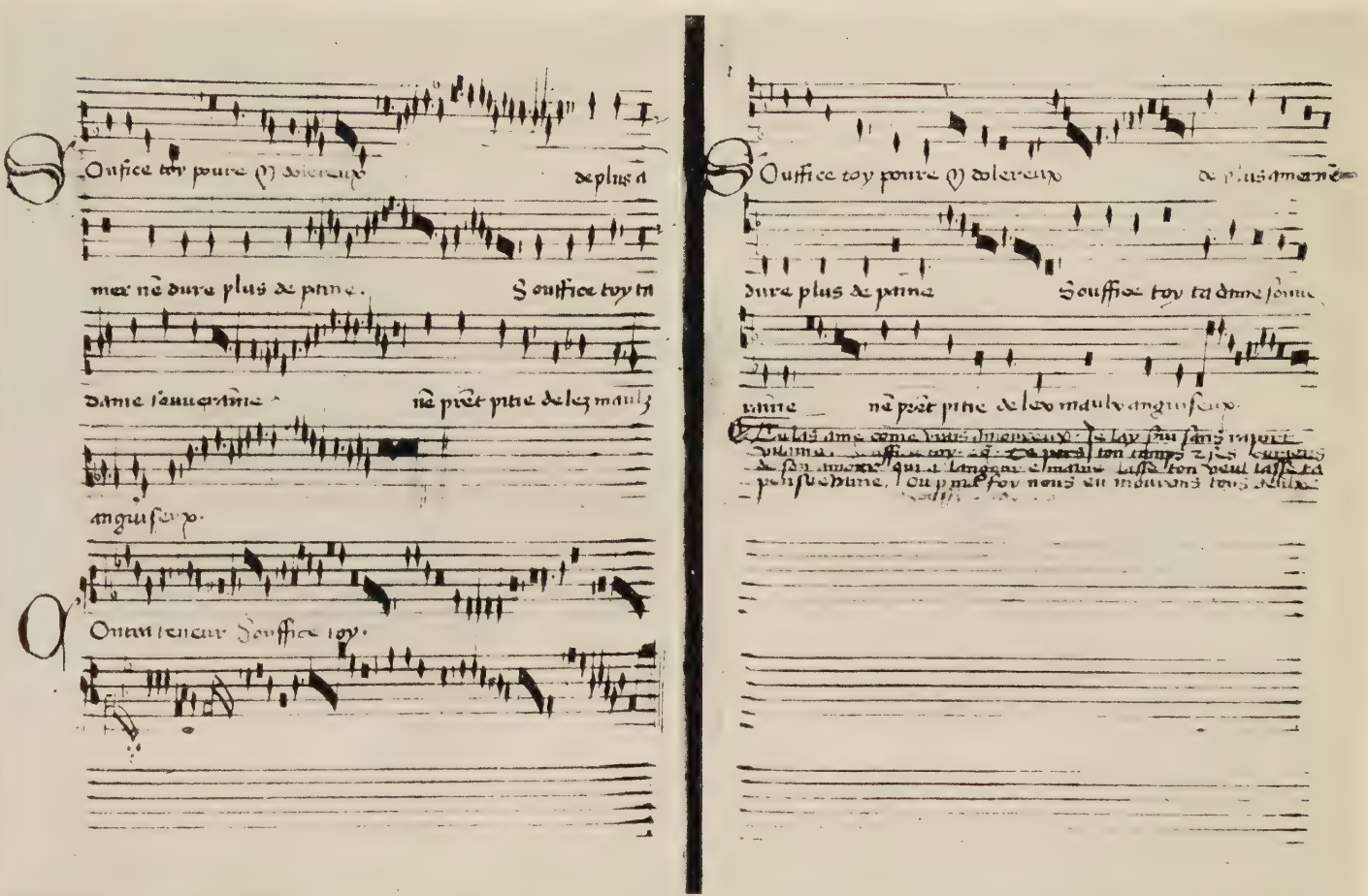
No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
64	31/30v	Vestis(s)e la cornachia	2^2	Ma	(Jacopo)	*Sq* f. 20v/21	Edn. MarrJ, 114 (*PR*); WoSq, 42.
65	31v	Che pensi di me	3^3	itB	—	—	—
66	32	Don(n)a nascosa dentr' al cor	2^2	itB	—	—	—
67	32v	Nel meço a sey paun	2^2	Ma	(Giovanni)	*FP* f. 55; *Sq* f. 3v/4; *RO*, no. 3 (an. 2^1, only incomplete Rit.)	Soll, no. 48. Edn. PirrMF, no. 10 (*FP*), WoSq, 9; WoG, no. 38 (*Sq*); WoH, 297 (*FP* and *Sq*); DaAp, no. 50 (*Sq*); RieM, I, 309 (*Sq*); SchSt, 70 (*Sq*); CorSc, no. 24; HistS, 19.
68	33	Se questa dea	3^3	itB	(Joh. Baçus Correçarius	*PadA*, no. 12 (Ct only)	—
69	33v	Sì com' al canto	3^3	Ma	(Jacopo)	*FP* f. 94v/95; *Lo* f. 8v (2^2); *Sq* f. 19v/20 (2^2)	Edn. MarrJ, 91 (*FP*); WoSq, 41 (2 voc.).
70	34	Dona, s'i' t' ò fallito	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 1; *Lo* f. 24 (an.); *Pit* f. 85v/86 (an.); *Sq* f. 158; *Luc*, no. 19 (C only); *PadA*, no. 32 (Oxford-Fragm.)	Known as a Lauda. Soll, no. 48. Edn. EllWL, no. 45; WoSq, 284.
71	34v	Gran piant' agli ochi	3^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 26; *Lo* f. 29v/30; *Pit* f. 67v/68; *Sq* f. 133; *PadA*, no. 17	Soll, no. 34. Edn. EllWL, no. 123; WoSq, 224; Gle, 104 (*Sq*), LuK, 459; Bar, 24a.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fascicle 4 (main part: hand A):					
72	35	Spesse fiate apreso	2^2	Ma	—	—	—
73	35v/36	[D]u' ançoliti	2^2	Ma	—	—	Soll, no. 29 (*Doi angiolette*).
74	36/35v	In som' alteça	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*Sq* f. 169v	Edn. EllWL, no. 61; WoSq, 362.
75	36v	Don(n)a che d'amor senta	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*Pit* f. 104v/105; *Sq* f. 150	Known as a Lauda? Soll, no. 35? Anon. V, CS, III 396 (*Pit*). Edn. EllWL, no. 38; WoSq, 265. Facs. EllWL, pl. VI (*Pit*).
76	37	Non dò la colp'a te	3^1	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 24; *Sq* f. 134v	Edn. EllWL, no. 136; WoSq, 226.
77	37v	Ochi piançete	2^2	itB	—	—	—
78	38	Amore a lo to aspetto	2^2	itB	—	—	—
79	38v	E, vatene, signor mie	2^2	itB	—	—	—
80	39	Strençi li labri	2^2	itB	—	—	Soll, no. 34.
81	39v	Dona fallante mira	2^2	itB	—	—	—
		Lower part fol. 39v to fol. 41: hand B:					
82	39v/40	Sempre serva	2^2	itB	—	—	—
83	40	Fa se 'l bon servo	2^2	itB	—	—	—
84	40v/41	La nobil Scala	3^2	Ma	—	—	Comp. before the exile of the Scaligeri in 1387 (probably between 1350 and 1380).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fol. 41v/42/42v empty. fol. 43 up to fol. 44: hand A:					
85	43	Quel digno de memoria	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 113v/114 (with a partially different T)	Edn. WoSq, 182.
86	43v	Non è virtù	2^2	Ma	—	—	—
87	44	Se premio de virtut'	(2^2) C only	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 113	Edn. WoSq, 180.
		Fol. 44v/45: hand C:					
88	44v	Omay! çascun se doglia	2^2	itB	—	—	—
89	45	Miracolosa toa sembiança	2^2	itB	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 111v	Edn. WoSq, 177.
		Fol. 45v/46: hand B:					
90	45v/46	I bei senbianti	3^3	Ma	(Bartolino)	*Sq* f. 102v/103; *Mod,* no. 37 (3^{2c}, Composer: *frater carmelitus* = Bartolino)	WoSq, 160.
		Fol. 46v/47: hand D (French part):					
91	46v	Bjaute porfaite	3^1	B	(A. da Caserta)	*Mod,* no. 18	Text by Machaut. Edn. ApF, no. 23 (*PR*). Facs. ApN, pl. 86 (*PR*).
92	47	Du ciel perileus	3^1	B	(A. da Caserta)	*Mod,* no. 17 (with text beginning: *Du val prilleus*)	Edn. ApF, no. 25 (*Mod*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
		Fol. 47v/48v (and fol. 49 ff.): hand A:					
93	47v	La dolce vista che dai ochi move	3^2	itB	(Landini)	*Lo* f. 80 (2^0); *Pit* f. 100 (2^2); *Sq* f. 150 (2^1)	Edn. EllWL, no. 126 (3 voc.); WoSq, 265 (2 voc.).
94	48	Per seguir la speranҫa	3^3	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 21v; *Pit* f. 62v/63; *Sq* f. 166	Edn. EllWL, no. 142; EllWL, no. 6; WoSq, 302.
95	48v	Già perch'i pensi	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 1v; *Lo* f. 59v (an.); *Pit* f. 68v/69; *Sq* f. 169	Edn. EllWL, no. 54; WoSq, 310.
		Fascicle 5, first part up to fol. 52v: hand A:					
96	49	Vita non è più misera	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 10v; *Pit* f. 103v; *Sq* f. 167	Known as a Lauda? Text in SerN. Edn. EllWL, no. 100; WoSq, 305.
97	49/48v	S'i' ti so stato	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 8; *Pit* f. 89v/90 (an.); *Sq* f. 142v; *Luc*, no. 71; *PadA*, no. 18 (an.)	Known as a Lauda. Edn. EllWL, no. 95, WoSq, 246.
98	49v	Come 'nfra l'altre donne	3^2	itB	—	—	—
99	50	Quanto più caro fay	3^1	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 26v/27 (3^3); *Lo* f. 49v/50 (3^3); *Pit* f. 90v/91 (3^2); *Sq* f. 143 (3^3)	Edn. EllWL, no. 145; WoSq, 248.
100	50v	O graciosa petra	3^1	itB	—	—	—
101	51	Chi preghio vole	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 11v; *Pit* f. 69v; *Sq* f. 157	Edn. EllWL, no. 25; WoSq, 282.
102	51/50v	De, non fugir da me	2^2	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 32; *Sq* f. 144v; *PadA*, no. 14	Edn. EllWL, no. 23; EllWL, no. 5; WoSq, 250.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
103	51v	Po'che veder non posso	3^3	itB	—	—	—
104	52	Nonn arà ma pietà	3^1	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 30v; *Lo* f. 23v/24 (an.); *Pit* f. 61v/62 (an. 3^2); *Sq* f. 134 (3^2); *Fa,* no. 29 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	Edn. EllWL, no. 135; WoSq, 225; Kie, ex. V (*Pit*). For other old publ. see LuMa, 27a, note 2; FiV, no. 1 (*Fa,* first part only).
105	52v	Zentil aspetto	3^1	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 27v/28; *Pit* f. 66v/67 (3^2); *Sq* f. 133; *Pist,* no. 7 (an., without Ct)	Edn. EllWL, no. 120; WoSq, 223; BessMR, 162 (*Pr* and *Sq,* fragment only).
		SECTION II. FRENCH WORKS					
		Fascicle 5, second part (hand D):					
106	53	[M]a tre dol rosignol goly (C 1) Aluette cyante (C 2) Rosignolin del bosgolin (T)	3^{1+1+1}	V	—	cf. remarks	Isorhythm. Tenor. Closely related to *Ch,* no. 89 and therefore to *Str* no. 53 (cf. ApF, no. 67 and remarks p. 32b). Edn. ApF, no. 68.
107	53v	Dame vailans de prijs (C) Amis de tant que vous aves desyr (T) Certainement puet on bien affirmer (Tripl)	3^{1+1+1}	B	—	—	Text of the Refrain is the same in all three voices.


Ouffice toy pouure (y) dolereux
de plus a
mor ne dure plus de pine.
Souffice toy ta
dame lame
ne pret pine de les maulz
angusseux.
Ouantreueur Souffice toy.
Ouffice toy pouure (y) dolereux
de plus amarne
dure plus de pine
Souffice toy ta dame lame
ne pret pine de les maulz angusseux.

Facs. 3. *PR*, fol. 98v/99, written by hand F.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
108	54	Cortois et sages	3^{1}	B	(Egidius)	*Mod,* no. 68	Acrostic *Clemens* VII. Comp. about 1378. Edn. ApF, no. 57 (*Mod*).
109	54v/55	Quant Theseus, Hercules et Jason (C 1) Ne quier veoir (C 2)	$4^{1}+1$	B	(Machaut)	*Mach; Ch,* no. 88	Edn. LuMa I, B 34; SchraMa, 124.
110	55	Bonte de corps en armes	3^{1}	B	—	*Str,* no. 121 (3^{0})	Acrostic *Bertrand* [du Guesclin] († 1380). In *Str* with Contrafactum Text *Beata es Virgo.*
111	55v	Tres douche plasant bergiere (C 1) Reconforte toy Robin (C 2)	$3^{1}+1$	V	—	—	Edn. ApF, no. 65.
112	56	Phiton, Phiton, beste tres veneneuse	3^{1}	B	(Mag. Franciscus)	*Ch,* no. 18	Gaston Phébus, Count of Foix. Edn. ReaCh, 98. Facs. MGG, IV, pl. 28 (*Ch*); Gen, pl. 10 (*Ch*).
113	56v	Dame qui fust si tres bien assenee	3^{1}	B	—	—	Strongly related to Machauts B 23 (cf. LuMa II, 25*). Edn. LuMa I, B 23a (p. 26, Fragm. only).
114	56v/57	En wyflyc beildt ghestadt van sinne	3^{1}	B	—	—	Edn. LenN, no. 1 of the music section.
115	57	Contre le temps et la sason (C) He, mari, mari, vous soiiez onni (T)	$3^{1}+1$	V	—	—	Isorhythmic Tenor.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
116	57v	Amor me fait desirer	3^1	B	—	*Mod,* no. 54; *Str,* no. 22 (3^0)	In *Str* with contrafactum text *Quam pulchra es* or *Solem stella parit* (cf. BorrS, 190). Edn. ApF, no. 53 (*Mod*).
117	58	Restoes, restoes, horible feu (C 1) Restoes le feu de loyal servant (C 2) Restoes, restoes, restoes (T)	$3^{1+1(+1)}$	V	—	—	The Tenor repeats only the word *restoes.* Edn. ApF, no. 73.
118	58v	En ce gracieux tamps joly	3^1	V	(Senleches)	*Mod,* no. 44 (*Selesses,* with another Triplum); *PadB,* no. 4 (an.); *Str,* no. 79 (3^0)	Triplum with calls *cocu.* Edn. ApF, no. 50 (*PR*).
119	58v/59	La grant biaute et la douchour	3^1	V	—	*BolH* (2^1)	—
120	59	Amour do ye servir	3^1	B	—	*Mod,* no. 57	Edn. Hus, no. 16 (*Mod*).
121	59v	A vous sans plus de ma dolour	3^1	B	—	—	—
122	59v/60	Martucius que fu de Rome neis	3^1	B	—	—	Edn. ApF, no. 52.
123	60	Pour l'amour du tamps gracieux	3^1	V	—	—	—
124	60v	S'espoir n'estoit	3^1	B	—	—	Not id. with *Pit* f. 125 (Rondeau).
125	60v/61	Los, prijs honour et avis	3^1	B	—	*Str,* no. 63 (3^0)	In *Str* with text-incipit *Flous pris honour.*

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
126	61	D'anguiseus cuer doy gemir	3^1	B	—	—	—
127	61v	Fuyons de chi	3^1	B	(Senleches)	*Mod,* no. 24 (*Selesses*); *Ch,* no. 11 (*Selenches*)	Death of Eleonor of Aragon (1382). Edn. ApF, no. 47 (*Mod*). Facs. Gen pl. 9 (*Ch*).
128	62	A gre d'amors, dame	3^1	B	—	—	—
129	62v	Plasanche or tost acux	4^2	V	(Pykini)	*Ch,* no. 90	—
		Fascicle 6 (hand E):					
130	63	En amer an die vie (= En amer a douce vie)	4^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach; FP,* f. 97 (3^1) an.; *Pit* f. 122 (3^0, an.); *Trém,* no. 33 (an.)	3 voices with Triplum. Edn. LuMa I, R.F. 4; SchraMa, 138.
131	63v	Sort a tenpre maint soir	4^1	V	—	*Mod,* no. 50 (3^1 with a different Ct); *Str,* no. 152 (4^0); *Pr,* no. 18 (2^0); *Vorau,* no. 3 (2^1)	In *Str* with a Contrafactum text *O pulchra inter mulieres. CaB* f. 14 v (Virelai *Pour vous recevoir*) has the same music as the incipit of *PR* no. 131 at the words *soit tart* in the Cantus. Edn. Ka, 141 (*PR*).
132	63v	Il vient bien sans ap(p)eller	3^1	cf. remarks	—	—	A Rondeau-like hybrid piece with indication of a Refrain in the text. The Tenor has to be read backwards.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
133	64	C'estoit ma douce nourtuire (sic!)	3^1	V	—	—	—
134	64v	De fortune me doy plaindre	4^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach; Ch,* no. 78 (an.); *Str,* no. 102 (an. 3^0); *Trém,* no. 46 (an.)	3 voices with Triplum and partially different Ct from the other Mach-Mss. In *Str* with a Contrafactum text *Rubus ardens.* Edn. LuMa I, B. 23; SchraMa, 101.
135	65	Gais et jolis, lies, chantant	3^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach; Mod,* no. 55	Second strophe by hand D. Edn. LuMa I, B. 35; SchraMa, 128.
136	65v	J'ay grant desespoir	3^1	B	—	*Trém,* no. 77; *Fa,* no. 12 (Tab. 2 voc.)	—
137	66	Jour a iour la vie	4^1	Rr	—	*FP* f. 74/73v (3^0); *Pit* f. 121v (2^0); *Str,* no. 72 (3^0); *Tit* f. 3v (3^1 with different Ct); *MüEm,* no. 86 (4^0, with Tripl. and different Ct); *Trém,* no. 73; *Fa,* nos. 3 and 15 (Tab. 2 voc.)	In *PR* 3-voice with Triplum. *MüEm* with Contrafactum text *Cristus, rex pacificus.* Edn. Dez, 99 (*MüEm; PR* first part only); PlF, 190 (*Fa*). Facs. Dez, 99 (*MüEm*); PlF, illustr. 2 (*Fa*).
138	65v/66	Passe rose de biaute (*hand D*)	3^1	R	—	*Pit* f. 26/25v (3^0)	*Tenor facit contra-tenorem.*
139	66v	Gente et devis	3^1	B	—	*Str,* no. 26 (3^0)	—
140	67	Je voy le bons tens venu et les albres	3^2	V	—	—	—
						—	

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
141	67v/68	Onques ne fu si dur pertie	3^1	V	—		*Str* with Contrafactum text *O benigna.* Edn. ApF, no. 71 (*PR*).
—	67v	*Bottom of page the words "Amor, merçe per dio"* (itB, *Pit* f. 30v, an.)	(2^1)	(itB)	—	(*Pit* f. 30v)	—
142	68	[D]Ame sans per que piesa conparay	4^1	B	—	*Trém,* no. 37	Incipit in *PR*: *Ame.* But the same text appears in *Jardin de Plaisance,* no. 41 with incipit *Dame.* So the concordance with *Trém* seems certain.
143	68v	Dame de qui toute ma ioie vient	4^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach; Trém,* no. 62 (an.)	Edn. LuMa I, R.F. 5; SchraMa, 140.
144	69	Alarme, alarme sens demour	4^1	V	(Grimace)	*Ch,* no. 91 (4^2)	Edn. ApF, no. 72 (*Ch*); Gast, III, 787.
145	69v	Il m'est avis	3^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach*	*PR* with different Ct from the other Mach-Mss. Edn. LuMa I, B 22; SchraMa, 98.
146	70	A discort son desir	3^1	B	—	*Fa,* no. 6 (Tab. 2 voc.)	Words of the text written by hand D over erased text of hand E which was corrupt: *Des descort . . .*

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
147	70v	Je languis d'amere mort	4^1	V	*Triplum quod fecit Petrus de Vigilijs*	*FP*, f. 69 (3^1); *Pit* f. 132v/133 (3^0); *Pr*, no. 11 and 12 (2^0); *Parma*, no. 7 (Ct only); *Str*, no. 106 (3^0)	3 voices with Triplum. Edn. Ka, 128 (*PR* and *Pr*). The words are not the same as for the Rondeau in the *Chansonnier du Cardinal Rohan* fol. 103v (edn. Löpelmann, no. 229).
148	71	Conviens' a fede	3^1	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 32v; *Pit* f. 107v/108; *Sq* f. 152v/153	Ital. Ballata with *verto* and *chiuso* in the Ripresa- and Piede-part (French influence). Edn. EllWL, no. 111; WoSq, 271. Facs. EllWL, pl. VII (*PR*).
149	71v	De ce que bol (sic!) pense	4^1	B	(P. des Molins)	*Ch*, no. 87 (3^1); *CaB* f. 5v and f. 10 (4^1, an.); *FP* f. 87/86v (3^0, an.); *McV*, no. 2 (3^1, an.); *Pit* f. 124 (3^1, an.); *Str*, no. 52 (3^0, *Wilhelmi de Maschaudio*); *Trém*, no. 26 (an.); *Fa*, no. 11 (Tab. 2 voc., an.)	In *Str* with Contrafactum text *Surge, anima* (cf. too WoG, 387). According to BorrS, 194 this Ballade was also in a lost Ghent Ms. Edn. WoH, I, 354 (*PR*); Droz et Thibault, 21 (3 voc., *Ch*).
150	72	De toutes flours	4^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach; FP* f. 99v (3^1); *Mod*, no. 43 (3^1); *Pit* f. 120v (3^0); *Str*, no. 168 (4^0); *Trém*, no. 27; *Fa*, no. 8 (Tab. 2 voc.)	Except *Mach* everywhere anonymous. Edn. LuMach, B 31; PlF, 189; SchraMa, 118. Facs. PlF, ill. 1 (*Fa*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
151	72v	Com(m)e le cerf la fontenne desire	3^1	B	—	*Trém,* no. 105	—
		Fascicle 7 (hand E):					
152	73	Conbiens qu'il soyt	3^1	isRr	—	*Str,* no. 34 (3^0)	Edn. ApF, no. 77 (*PR*).
153	72v/73	En ties, en latim, en romans (*hand D*)	3^1	V	—	—	Possibly a piece of Flemish origin.
154	73v	Je voy mon cuer en un bactel nager	3^1	B	—	*Pr,* no. 40 (2^0); *Str,* no. 143 (3^0); *WolkA,* f. 13v; *WolkB,* f. 20v (3^1 with interchangeable Ct or Tripl. [4^1])	*PR*: C, T and Tripl. In *Wolk* with German text: *Du ausserweltes schöns, mein hertz.* Edn. Ka, 168 (*PR, Pr*); DTO IX, 1, 183 (*Wolk*).
155	74	Combien que j'aime (?) et soie long de vous	3^1	V	—	—	—
156	74v	Trem dolz et loyaulus amis	2^1	V	—	—	—
157	74v/75	Dame, par le dolz plaisir d'amore	3^1	V	—	*Pr,* no. 27 (2^0); *Str,* no. 70 (2^0)	*Pr* has a Flemish text: *Scone es si bouen.* Edn. Ka, 157 (*PR, Pr*).
158	75	Puisqu' autrement ne puis avor	3^1	V	—	—	—
159	75v	S'e(n) may est	3^1	Rr	—	—	—
160	75v/76	Le souvenir de vous	2^1	Rr	—	*Str,* no. 132 (3^0)	—
161	76	Par ton refuis vif	3^1	Rr	—	—	—
162	76v	L'escu d'amors dont le champ est d'argent	3^1	B	—	—	—

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
163	77	Mais qu'il vous legne	2^1	V	—	*Villingen* (3^1, lost, cf. LuMa II, 42*/42)	Edn. ApF, no. 62 (*PR*); for editions after Villingen cf. LuMa II, 42.
164	77	Autor n'ai d'amors cognue	2^1	B	—	—	—
165	77v	Jonesce de haut corage	3^1	B	—	—	C, T and Tripl.
166	77v	En tes doulz flans (*hand D*)	3^1	R	—	*Str,* no. 13	Religious Rondeau. In *Str* with Contrafactum text *Felix Dei genitrix.* Edn. ApF, no. 74 (*PR*).
167	78	Le gay plaisir et la doc esperance	3^1	B	—	—	Ouvert and clos in both parts.
168	78	Je(t) fort qu'en amour se lie cuer	$2(^1)$	V	—	—	—
169	78v/79	Or sus, vous dormes trop	3^1	V	—	*Iv,* no. 23; *Lo* f. 77v (3^0); *PadC* (incompl.); *Pit* f. 122v/124; *Str,* no. 127	Soll, no. 25. In *Str* Contrafactum text *Ave stella.* Edn. ApF, no. 70 (*Pit*); BessMR, 141 (Fragment *Iv* and *PR*); de Van, *Monuments de l'Ars Nova,* Paris, 1938.
170	79v	Car nul estat n'a si grant fermete	3^1	B	(Goscalch)	*Ch,* no. 58	Text incipit in *Ch: En nul estat.*
171	80	Ge ray sans mesure (= Je la remiray)	3^1	V	—	*Mod,* no. 65 (3^0); *Pit* f. 126v/127 (3^0)	—
172	80v	En remirant vo douce pourtrayture	3^1	B	(Ph. da Caserta)	*Ch,* no. 57; *Mod,* no. 67	Edn. ApF, no. 59 (*Mod*). Facs. ApF, pl. III (*Mod*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
173	81	[D]e Narcissus	3^1	B	(Mag. Franciscus)	*Ch*, no. 16 (with different Ct); *Pit* f. 33v/34 (3^0, an.); *Trém*, no. 48 (an.); *Autun* f. 130 (C only, an.)	Edn. ApF, no. 55 (*Ch*). Facs. MGG IV, 633/34 (*PR*).
174	81v	La cornailhe qu'il hat	3^1	V	—	—	—
175	81v	Adeu, mon cuer, car departir mi convin de tout	2^1	V	—	—	—
176	82	Fuiies de moy, amie	3^1	B	—	*Pr*, no. 15 (2^0); *Melk* (2^0); *Str*, no. 24 (3^0); *Trém*, no. 106; *WolkA* f. 15 (3^2); *WolkB* f. 22 (3^2)	*Str* with Contrafactum text *Quam pulchra es. Wolk* with German text *Wolauff, gesell.* Edn. Ka, 134 (*PR, Pr*); DTO IX, 1, no. 113 (*Wolk*). Facs. and Edn. WoG, II/III, no. 77 (*WolkA*).
177	82v	Va t'en mon cuer, je t'emprie	3^1	V	—	—	—
178	82v	Dolour me tient par may foy	2^1	B	—	—	—
179	83	Se ie ne suy gay	3^1	B	—	—	—
180	83v	Plus que l'aloe ne fine de canter	3^1	V	—	—	—
181	83v	E dieu, commant i'ay grant desir	2^2	V	—	—	—
182	84	Mersi oit mort ay long-tempe desire	4^1	B	—	*Trém*, no. 67?	*Trém: Merci ou mort. PR* perhaps reads: *Mersi ait! mort* ....

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
183	84v	En atendant soufrir	3^1	B	(Ph. da Caserta, or less probably J. Galiot)	*Ch,* no. 45 (*Jo. Galiot*); *Mod,* no. 34 (*Mr. filipoctus*)	Edn. ApF, no. 56 (Music *PR,* text *Ch*). Facs. ApF, pl. VII (*PR*).
		Four inserted folios (music written by hand E, text by a later hand):					
184	85	Qusta fançolla	2^0 (Tab)	itB	(Landini)	*FP* f. 22v (3^1); *Pit* f. 70v (3^2); *Sq* f. 138 (3^2); *MüEm,* no. 110 (an., 3 voc.); *Str,* no. 27 (an. 3^0)	In *MüEm* with *Kyrie* text. In *Str* with text incipit *est illa.* Edn. EllWL, no. 147; WoSq, 234; ReeM, 368; WoN, II, 218 (all after *Sq*).
185	85v	Textless Tablature (incomplete) *Folios 86 to 88v empty*	2^0 (Tab)	itB?		—	—

SECTION III. WORKS OF THE DUFAY PERIOD

		Fascicle 8 (hand F): fol. 89 empty					
186	89v/90	Helas, et quant vous veray	3^2	Rr	G. du [illegible] y	—	—
187	90v/91	Or sus amans, veullies vous resveiller	3^3	R	—	—	—
188	91v/92	La plus iolie et la plus belle	3^3	Rr	(Grenon)	*O,* no. 195	Edn. Marix, no. 3 (*PR*); Dann, no. V (*O*).

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
189	92v/93	Se ie vous ay bien loyaulement amee	3^2	R	Grenon	*BU*, no. 88 (2^2, an.); *O*, no. 180 (2^1, an.); *Pz* f. 4v (2^2 an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 4 (*PR*); Dann, no. VI (*PR*).
190	93v/94	Il a loingtamps que i'ay une choysie	3^3	R	—	—	—
191	94v	M'amour, ma ioye, ma doulce maistresse	3^1	R	—	—	—
192	95	Quant ie poray bien dire ma pensee	3^1	R	—	—	—
193	95v/96	Les mesdisans ont fait raport	3^1	R	(J. Legrant)	*Tr87*, no. 60	Edn. DTO XI, 1, 89 (*Tr*).
194	96v	Jamais tant que ie vous revoye	3^1	R	(Binchois)	*EscA* f. 47 (T only, an.); *O*, no. 10	Edn. Stainer, 64 (*O*); Rehm, no. 17a (*PR*); no. 17 (*O*, *EscA*).
195	97	Je ne suis plus telx	3^1	R	(Dufay)	*O*, no. 107; *PC* f. 61v (T only, an.); *Tr87*, no. 118	Edn. DTO VII, 251 (*Tr*).
196	97v	Porray-je avoir vostre mercy	3^1	R	(Dufay)	*EscA* f. 24v/25; *O*, no. 176 *Str*, no. 129 (3^0)	Edn. Stainer, 152 (*O*).
197	98	Navre ie suy d'un dart penetratif	3^1	R	(Dufay)	*MüEm*, no. 198 (3^0); *O*, no. 172	—
198	98v/99	Souf(f)ice toy povre ♡ (cueur)	3^2	R	—	—	—
199	99v/100	Se iamais jour ne vous veoye	4^2	R	—	—	—
200	100v/101	La plus plaisant et la plus gracieuse	4^2	R	—	—	—
201	101v/102	Qui veut mesdire ci mesdie	3^1	R	Binchois	—	Edn. Marix, no. 47; Rehm, no. 36.

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
202	102v/(103)	Je vueil chanter	3^2	R	(Dufay)	*O*, no. 55	Acrostic *Jehan de Dinant.*
203	103	Amis vous n'estes pas use	3^3	R	—	—	—
204	103v/104	Ce moys de may	3^2	R	(Dufay)	*O*, no. 19	Edn. Stainer, 105 (*O*). Facs. and edn. (under the name of Binchois) Kie, pl. XII/XIII (*PR*?), cf. BorrD, 233.
205	104v/105	Certes amours ie ne puis bien avoir	3^{2c}	R	—	—	—
206	105v/106	Mersi, mersi chiamando	3^2	R	d. B. de Bononia	—	Italian text.
207	106v/107	Que feray-ie pour mes maulx oblier	3^{2c}	R	—	—	—
208	107v/108	Se ie souspire, plains et pleure	3^1	R	Binchois	—	Edn. Marix, no. 50; Rehm, no. 39.
209	108v/109	La belle se siet au piet de la tour (*folios 109 and 110 = 2 inserted folios*)	2^1	Ch	(Dufay)	*BU*, no. 77 (an.); *O*, no. 50 (3^2); *PC* f. 61 (T only)	Edn. Stainer, 122 (*O*).
210	109v/110	Je prens congie de vous *Fascicle 9 (from fol. 111 to f. 118 (hand F):*	3^1	R	G. du [illegible]y	—	Edn. and Facs. Kie, pl. X/XI (*PR*?).
211	110v/111	M'amour, mon bien, tout mon desir	3^2	R	—	—	—
212	111v/112	Riant regart tout plain de joye	3^1	R	—	—	—

No.	Folio	Beginning of Text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
213	112v	Se ma dame je puis veoir	3^1	R	(Dufay)	*O*, no. 137	—
214	113	Deux ♡♡ (cueurs) en un par grant fruguise	3^1	R	—	—	—
215	113v/114	Quant si loing suy	3^1	R	—	*Bern*, f. 19v (Ct lost)	—
216	114v/115	La plus belle et doulce figure	3^1	V	Grenon	—	Edn. Marix, no. 2.
217	115v/116	Jollis, iolyeulx le cuer (C 1) Or tost vrais, iolis, amoureux (C 2)	3^{2c}	Rr	—	—	—
218	116v/117	Mon ♡ (cuer) pleure, mès des yeulx me fault rire	3^1	R	Fontaine	*O*, no. 230; *Pz* f. 9v/10 (an.); *Str*, no. 177 (3^o, an.)	Edn. Marix, no. 6.
219	117v/118	Resioisons et se prenons liesse	3^1	R	—	—	—
		Isolated folio 119					
220	118v/119	Il est venus le temps que desiroye	3^2	R	—	—	—
		Folio 119v empty *Folios 120-124 absent* *Fols. 125/126 empty*					
	126v/127	Original Index (*hand D*) of pieces fasc. 5-7					

EDITIONS OF TEXTS

G. Bertoni, "Poesie musicali francesi nel cod. Estense lat. 568", in *Archivum Romanicum* (1917), 27-57: All French Texts of *Mod* = *PR* nos. 91, 92, 108, 116, 118, 120, 127, 131, 135, 150, 171, 172, 183.

G. Carducci, *Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali dei sec. XIII e XIV,* Pisa 1871: *PR* nos. 31, 68, 104, 105.

— "Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del sec. XIV", in *Opere* vol. VIII, Bologna 1893: *PR* nos. 2, 5, 9, 11, 19, 21, 28, 67.

V. Chichmaref, *G. de Machaut, Poésies lyriques,* I, Paris and St. Petersburg, 1909, 132: *PR* no. 91.

C. E. H. de Coussemaker, in *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai,* XVIII (1841): *PR* no. 149.

E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. Queux de St. Hilaire et G. Raynaud, vol. X, Paris 1901: *PR* nos. 109, 143, 149, 179.

E. Droz et A. Piaget, *Le Jardin de Plaisance,* Paris 1924: PR nos. 138, 142, 143, 192.

P. Ferrato, Lapo Gianni degli Uberti, Padua 1870, 16: *PR* no. 56.
— *Per nozze Batticozzo-Cattaneo Tinti,* Padua 1872, 14: *PR* no. 85.

Giornale storico della letteratura italiana IV, 40: *PR* no. 18.

E. Levi, *Lirica Italiana antica,* Florence 1905, 123: *PR* no. 71.

E. Li Gotti, "Il Cod. di Lucca, Testi letterari", in *Musica Disciplina* IV, 111 ff.: *PR* nos. 26, 27, 30, 33, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 70, 97.

M. Loepelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan,* Göttingen 1923: no. 562 = *PR* no. 196.

N. Pirrotta, E. Li Gotti, "Paolo Tenorista Fiorentino extra moenia", in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal,* III, Madrid 1952, 601: *PR* no. 48.

F. Trucchi, *Poesie italiane inedite,* Prato 1846, II, 55, 156, 161: *PR* nos. 53, 93, 94.

THE CYPRIOT-FRENCH REPERTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT TORINO, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE, J. II. 9

RICHARD H. HOPPIN

Although thirty years have passed since Heinrich Besseler published his excellent description and index of the Cypriot manuscript now in Turin, Bibl. Naz. J. II. 9 (*Tu B*), [1] the contents of this extraordinarily rich source have remained almost totally unknown. One of the motets has been published — one can scarcely say in modern notation — by Rudolf Ficker [2]. Somewhat earlier, Johannes Wolf published copies of the original notation of two Ballades with transcriptions that are generally good if not entirely faultless [3]. In addition, one Ballade is given in facsimile by Willi Apel in *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* [4]. With these pitifully meager samples, plus part of a Ballade quoted by Besseler [5], it has obviously been impossible to form any idea of a polyphonic repertory of some 219 pieces including Mass movements, isorhythmic motets and secular songs [6]. It seems safe to say that no other source of comparable wealth has been so thoroughly and so unjustifiably neglected. That such neglect should continue much longer is unthinkable. One of the aims of the present article is to point out a few of the reasons why publication of this extremely valuable and interesting repertory should be begun at the earliest opportunity *.

If the neglect suffered by this repertory is unjustifiable, it is not entirely inexplicable. At least in part, it is certainly due to the Cypriot origin of the repertory as a whole and to the fact that all of the pieces are both anonymous and *unica*. As a result, scholars seem to have felt that the repertory was so far removed from the central development of music in

[1] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 209 ff.

[2] *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich* XL (76), 12-13.

[3] *Handbuch der Notationskunde* I (Leipzig, 1913), 368-80.

[4] Cambridge, Mass., 1949 (4th ed.), Facs. 85, p. 419.

[5] *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Potsdam, 1931-34), p. 146. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954), is in error when he lists (p. 14, n. 62) a facsimile in P. Aubry, *Cent Motets . . . .*, III, Pl. XII. This facsimile is from the earlier Turin Ms. Reale Bibl. *Vari 42*.

[6] Cf. Besseler's index, *AfMW* VII, 212-217.

* *Editor's Note:* The motets of this source were already engraved in 1948 for publication in *CMM* as Vol. I of the entire material. For various reasons the publication was held back, but now a new plan is in consideration.

Western Europe that it could not or should not be used in charting the course of that development. This attitude was unfortunately fostered by Besseler himself when he remarked that the music of the Cyprus codex, although obviously the product of French or of French-trained musicians, should be used with caution in the study of continental music history [7]. Caution is, of course, necessary, but Besseler did not advise that the repertory should be completely ignored.

A complete discussion of the relationships between this music from Cyprus and the contemporary music of Western Europe would produce a work far exceeding the normal limits of an article such as this. The following pages will, therefore, be limited to a consideration of two primary topics. First, a glance at some facets of Cypriot history should make clear that, in the 14th and 15th centuries, Cyprus was not as remote from the Occident, either culturally, religiously, politically or even geographically, as we might be inclined to suppose. Secondly, some general remarks on the characteristics of the music itself will reveal that there is little or nothing in the Cypriot repertory that does not find its counterpart in the music of the West. While these remarks must of necessity provide little more than a preliminary sketch, they will show, I am convinced, that the music of *Tu B,* despite the accident of its origin in Cyprus, must be regarded as a typical product of French musical activity in the years just before and after 1400.

Until recent events brought it unhappily into the news, Cyprus was, for most of us, a relatively unimportant island situated somewhat vaguely in the eastern Mediterranean. The comparative oblivion into which the island had fallen almost seemed to be in inverse proportion to the important role it played in the political, commercial and religious life of Europe from the 12th to the 15th century. It was then — what it has recently become again, in a different and sadder way — one of the last eastern outposts of the civilization and culture of Western Europe.

Greek dominion over Cyprus ended in 1191 with the conquest of the island by Richard Coeur-de-Lion [8]. Not wishing to be distracted from his main purpose in Palestine by the unruly Cypriots, Richard sold the island to the Templars. They, in turn, after quenching the fires of revolt in "rivers of blood" [9], were only too glad to turn the island over to Guy de

[7] *AfMW* VII, 210 f.

[8] The most complete study of Cyprus in English is by Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus.* 4 vols. Cambridge, 1940-52. Vols. 2 and 3, covering the years 1192-1571, are "largely a rearrangement and digest of the immense mass of materials which were collected by Comte Louis de Mas Latrie . . . ." (II, viii.) The published works of Mas Latrie are listed in Hill's Bibliography, II, xxix-xxx.

[9] Hill, *op. cit.,* II, 37.

Lusignan, the dispossessed King of Jerusalem. Guy took possession of Cyprus in May, 1192, after doing homage to Richard for the fief which he was to hold only during his lifetime. On the death of Guy in 1194, however, the nobles of Cyprus elected his brother, Aimery de Lusignan, as their seigneur. "With his succession we may regard the Lusignan dynasty as definitely settled on what was in a couple of years to become the throne of Cyprus" [10]. Thus did a branch of an illustrious French family become the hereditary kings of Cyprus. Among their equally illustrious descendants are to be counted Marcel Proust's fabulous Guermantes family, whose innumerable ancestors include "the Lusignans, Kings of Cyprus, from whom we descend in a direct line" [11]. The Lusignans, together with the nobles who were mostly French barons come to Cyprus with Guy in 1192, constituted the ruling class of the island throughout the "Frankish" period (1192-1489).

French political domination of Cyprus was followed by two important consequences. Regardless of what happened to the language and culture of the indigenous peoples — and it very evidently remained largely Greek — the court and members of the nobility carefully maintained the language and culture, predominantly French, that they had brought from Western Europe. They brought with them also their religion.

Until the coming of the Lusignan kings, religion in Cyprus had been a monopoly of the Eastern Church. In 1196, Aimery, together with Pope Celestine III, took measures "to recall the island of Cyprus, in Celestine's words, to the bosom of the Roman church" [12]. The Roman church never succeeded in this effort, but many Latin churches were constructed, especially during the first two centuries of the Lusignan's reign, and most of the great religious orders of the West established monasteries in Cyprus. The military Orders — first the Templars and later the Hospitallers — also possessed large holdings in Cyprus and were thus intimately connected with the development of the island. Even the small Order of English Knights of St. Thomas à Becket was represented in Cyprus in the 14th century [13].

Throughout the Middle Ages, there were two other continuing sources of contact between Cyprus and the West. From the time of Richard Coeur-de-Lion until the end of the 14th century, the Crusades periodically brought

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 44.

[11] *Remembrance of Things Past,* Engl. Transl. Scott Moncrieff; (New York, n.d.), I, 1125.

[12] Hill, *op. cit.*, II, 48.

[13] Hill, *op. cit.*, II, 30 and 54, n. 5. Cf. Ludolf von Suchen in *Archives de l'orient latin* (Paris 1884), II, 336. Partial translation in C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 19.

new additions to the western elements of the Cypriot population. In 1248, for example, Saint Louis chose to base his immense fleet on Cyprus where he spent eight months before sailing on his ill-fated invasion of Egypt. He had been followed by an army of farmers and artisans intending to colonize Egypt. With the failure of the Crusade, many of these men remained in Cyprus, strengthening the French element and contributing to the development of the kingdom [14].

Even more continuous contact with the West was maintained through the tremendous commercial activity of the island and the constant stream of pilgrims who stopped there on their way to and from the Holy Land. The city of Famagusta, chief port of Cyprus, rivalled the richest maritime cities of the world. Because of the special privileges they enjoyed, Famagusta was especially frequented by the Genoese, but certain privileges were also granted to merchants from Marseille, Montpellier, Barcelona and Venice [15]. Ludolf von Suchen, who visited Cyprus between 1336 and 1341, portrays the colorful and cosmopolitan character of Famagusta in a detailed account from which I quote a few fragments.

> [It is] the richest of all cities, and her citizens are the richest of men.... Moreover there are very rich merchants, a thing not to be wondered at, for Cyprus is the furthest of Christian lands, so that all ships and all wares, be they what they may, and come they from what part of the sea they will, must needs come first to Cyprus, and in no wise can they pass it by, and pilgrims from every country journeying to the lands over sea must touch at Cyprus.... And the tongues of every nation under heaven are heard and read and talked: and all are taught in special schools [16].

At this time the prosperity of Cyprus had attained its highest level before the long and gradual decline that set in shortly after the assassination of Peter I in 1369. Peter is, of course, the most widely known of the Lusignan kings, his life and death being the subject of Guillaume de Machaut's long poem, *La Prise d'Alexandrie* [17]. His reign, therefore, provides a convenient starting point for a somewhat more detailed account of the relations, cultural and otherwise, between Cyprus and the West.

If Machaut can give us no firsthand information concerning life at the court of Cyprus, which he never visited, he does provide abundant evidence that Peter became thoroughly familiar with all phases of life in Western Europe during his two years of wide-ranging travel. The in-

[14] Cf. J. Longnon, *Les Français d'outre-mer au moyen-age* (Paris, 1929), pp. 161-62.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[16] Cobham, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. A longer excerpt may be found in Hill, *op. cit.*, II, 292-93.

[17] L. de Mas Latrie, ed., Geneva, 1877.

numerable tournaments in which Peter, an indefatigable jouster, took part should not make us forget that on many occasions he must have come in contact with some of the gentler arts. Machaut's account of Peter's reception at Prague has frequently been cited. The king was met at the gates of the city by a religious procession singing hymns and responses, and he arrived at the castle to the sound of a great number of instruments plus all the bells of the city, so that he was astonished and declared

.... qu'onques mais en sa vie
Ne vit si tres grant melodie. [18]

There were lengthy fetes in Peter's honor, at which he took first place as usual.

Quant lonc temps orent festié
Dancié, jousté & tournié,
On donna le pris au milleur. [19]

Of a similar celebration in Vienna it is said that not in a hundred years had there been a fete

Plus gracieuse ne plus belle
Ne qui fust si tres bien joustée,
Ne si cointement karolée. [20]

Peter had many other opportunities to become acquainted with the music of Western Europe, beginning with his two month visit at the papal court in Avignon at a time when Jean II, King of France, was also in that city. For more than a year thereafter, much of Peter's time was spent at French or English courts, where his presence gave rise to many "grans festes, grans reviaux et grans esbatemens" [21]. The last important events in France at which Peter was present were the funeral ceremonies for Jean II and the coronation of Charles V at Reims on May 18, 1364.

There must have been almost as many opportunities to become acquainted with Italian *trecento* music, although Villani's story that Landini received a laurel wreath from the hands of Peter in Venice may be no more than a characteristic glorification of a fellow citizen [22]. Peter did not arrive in Venice, it is true, until November 11, 1364, three months after the victory celebrations described by Petrarch at which Landini supposedly

[18] Machaut, *Prise* .... p. 36.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[21] Froissart, *Chroniques,* ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1867-77. Vol. VI, p. 378. For a brief account of Peter's journey see N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1896), Ch. VII.

[22] E. Li Gotti, "Il più antico polifonista italiano del Sec. XIV," in *Italica* XXIV (1947), 196; and "Una pretesa incoronazione di Fr. Landini," in *Restauri trecenteschi,* Palermo, 1947. (This latter has not been available to me.)

was crowned. As soon as he did arrive, however, further celebrations took place [23]. Moreover Peter stayed in Venice until June 27, 1365. To this prolonged contact with Italian life and culture must be added Peter's second visit to Italy in 1368, when he was magnificently feted in a number of cities including Florence itself. It was on this trip that he was met by Froissart, who accompanied the royal party from Bologna to Venice [24]. Some measure of Peter's standing with the literary figures of his time may be perceived in the fact that he was praised and regretted by Froissart, Petrarch, Cuvelier, Machaut, Chaucer and various Italian and English chroniclers [25].

In addition to the acquaintance with western culture resulting from Peter's extended visit, we have concrete evidence that even at home in Cyprus he was in close contact with representatives of western civilization. He was evidently accompanied in his travels by the usual princely retinue with a normal complement of clerks, chaplains and musicians. On April 28, 1363, shortly before his departure from Avignon, Peter addressed to Pope Urban V a long list of supplications for members of his entourage [26]. Among those for whom benefices were requested we find Peter's relative (*consanguineus*) Johannes de Lussemburg, clerk of the diocese of Tournai, and three of Peter's "familiars": Rogerius Figuli, clerk; Robertus Blondi, clerk; and Frater Johannes de Lictore, Benedictine, all three from the diocese of Cambrai. In addition, three priests are named as Peter's chaplains: Johannes Heraudi, diocese of Noyon; Jacobus Burgensis, diocese of Arras; Jacobus de Builhiaco, alias Agode, *magister in artibus,* diocese of Arras. Finally there is a request in favor of Peter's assiduous familiar Henricus de Mosa, clerk of the diocese of Liège, organist and singer in his chapel [27]. That Peter was also accompanied by secular musicians is shown by the gift of eighty francs in gold made by the newly-crowned Charles V "to the minstrels of the King of Cyprus" [28].

Of all the French members of Peter's court, however, perhaps the most influential and certainly the most widely known was that remarkable 14th-century figure, Philippe de Mézières (c. 1327-1405). Born of an obscure

[23] Cf. Jorga, *op. cit.,* pp. 253-54, 259-60. Petrarch's letter, dated August 10, is now available in *La Letteratura Italiana,* Vol. 7, (Milan, 1955), pp. 1077 ff. (*Francesco Petrarca — Prose.*)

[24] Cf. Jorga, *op. cit.,* pp. 377 ff.

[25] *Ibid.,* pp. 392-93 and references there given.

[26] A. Fierens, *Suppliques d'Urbain V* (*Analecta Vaticano-Belgica,* VII, 1914), Nos. 794-801. The list here given is by no means complete as the *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* is primarily concerned with extracts from the papal archives relating to the former dioceses of Liège, Cambrai, Tournai and Thérouanne.

[27] *Ibid.,* No. 795.

[28] Jorga, *op. cit.,* p. 189, n. 6.

family in Picardy, Philippe was educated in Amiens before beginning his career as a soldier, scholar and advisor and tutor of kings [29]. Philippe made his first visit to Cyprus as a very young man during the reign of Hugh IV, but it was not until 1361, some time after the coronation of Peter I, that he returned to become chancellor at Peter's court. The relationship between king and chancellor seems to have been unusually close. Philippe speaks of Peter as one of two princes who became almost his friend [30]. Although Philippe was later to reveal himself as one of the most cultivated writers of his time [31], his influence on Peter seems to have been largely confined to the field of chivalry. If it is likely that Philippe's projected Order of the Passion inspired Peter to found his Order of the Sword [32], it is indubitable that Philippe was a prime mover in all Peter's efforts to bring about a new Crusade. Indeed, the effort to deliver the Holy Land, coupled with very clear ideas as to why previous efforts had failed, remained a major preoccupation throughout Philippe's long life.

In contrast to the somewhat speculative nature of Philippe's cultural influence on Cypriot life, we find him bringing back from the Orient a definite contribution to the religious life of Western Europe. From his youth, Philippe had offered himself with special devotion to the Virgin Mary. After his active connection with Cyprus was broken by the assassination of Peter, Philippe undertook to introduce and to popularize in the West the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, which he had seen celebrated in the Orient and especially in Cyprus [33]. In 1372, after two presentations of the Office in Venice, Philippe set about obtaining the approbation of the pope in Avignon. He presented Gregory XI with a copy of the Office in Latin, translated from the Greek by Philippe himself, and accompanied by musical settings [34]. In addition, Philippe provided remarkably explicit stage directions for the performance of the Office as a mystery play [35]. The cult of Mary was at its height in the 14th and early 15th centuries, and Philippe's innovation soon achieved widespread acceptance. We shall see further evidence both of the strength of this cult and of the close relations between Cyprus and the West when we consider the Latin and French texts in honor of Mary that are to be found in *Tu B.*

The murder of Peter I in 1369 by no means put an end to contact between Cyprus and the West. Relations with Genoa, indeed, became uncomfortably close, leading to an invasion of Cyprus by the Genoese in 1373.

[29] *Ibid.*, Chapters I & II.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 411 ff.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

The capture and continued occupation of Famagusta, plus the enormous tribute exacted by the Genoese were the initial causes for the long decline in the fortunes of Cyprus. More pertinent to the present discussion, however, is the fact that among the hostages carried off to Genoa in 1374 was the brother of Peter I, James (later James II), who was accompanied by his wife. Their son, Janus, was born in Genoa and named after the mythical founder of that city. After the untimely death of Peter II in 1382, James was returned to the throne of Cyprus, but Janus was kept in Genoa as a hostage until 1392. Thus the King of Cyprus during whose reign *Tu B* was compiled, spent his childhood and youth in the West and was almost more European than Cypriot.

As a result of the troubles with Genoa, ambassadors were continually traveling from Cyprus to Genoa, Venice and the papal court. Cyprus itself, moreover, continued to receive regular visits from merchants, trading ships and pilgrims to the Holy Land. Among the latter, a few are particularly worthy of mention. In 1389, after many vicissitudes including several months of imprisonment, a group of distinguished Frenchmen returned from the Holy Land to France by way of Cyprus. In this group were Philippe d'Artois, comte d'Eu, Jean de Saint-Pierre dit le Seneschal and Jean II le Meingre dit Boucicaut. Together with Jean de Créseque, these three collaborated in the composition of *Les Cent Ballades* [36]. Créseque, it is presumed, was also in the group [37], since a passage in the *Livre des faits de Jean Boucicaut* gives precise information as to the origin of this collection.

> Si print a devenir joyeux, jolis, chantant et gracieux plus que oncques mais, et se print a faire balades, rondiaulx, virelais, lays et complaintes d'amoureux sentement, desquelles choses faire gaiement et doulcement Amours le fist en pou d'eure si bon maistre que nul ne l'en passoit, si comme il appert par le livre des Cent Balades, duquel faire lui et le seneschal d'Eu furent compaignons ou voyage d'oultremer; . . . [38]

As this is the only "voyage d'oultremer" these men are known to have made together, the collection must have been well on the way to completion by the time of their arrival in Cyprus. Nothing is known, apparently, of their stay on the island, but men of such importance must have been royally entertained by James I. It is very probable, indeed, that James followed the usual procedure for honoring such visitors by bestowing upon them the insignia of the Order of the Sword. In *Les Cent Ballades* I find

[35] Cf. Karl Young, "Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* XXVI (1911), 181-234.

[36] Publ. by Gaston Raynaud, *Société des anciens textes français,* Paris, 1905.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. xlvii.

[38] Cited by Raynaud, *ibid.,* p. xlii.

one bit of evidence that might support this supposition. The motto of the Order was, according to Machaut, *C'est pour loiauté maintenir* [39]. However, a silver buckle of the Order bears only the words *Pour loiauté maintenir* [40], and a similar but garbled version *(Pour le aiut maintenir)* is recorded in an account of the presentation of the Order to Nicolas d'Este and four of his seigneurs by King Janus in 1413 [41]. *Les Cent Ballades* as a whole are concerned with the desirability of "loyalty" in affairs of the heart, but the possible link with the Order of the Sword lies in the refrain of Ballade 21: *Tout pour Loiauté maintenir.* This line could, of course, have been written quite independently, but in view of the other circumstances it is difficult to believe that the quotation was fortuitous.

Another poet, Oton de Grandson, somewhat hyperbolically called by Chaucer *flour of hem that make in France* [42], visited Cyprus in 1393 in the company of Henry Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV [43]. When the party stopped at Famagusta, Oton was one of a special mission sent to the King of Cyprus at Nicosia [44]. Thus there was at least a brief contact between the Cypriot court and this man whose fame, thanks to his bravura, his poetry and his amours, filled for a moment the entire Christian world [45]. On the voyage to Palestine, incidentally, Henry Bolingbroke dispensed with his usually "indispensable minstrels" except for a single trumpeter [46].

About this same time another famous Englishman visited Cyprus. On July 15, 1393, King James I wrote to Richard II of England assuring him that all friends of his were welcome and thanking him for a message delivered by Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur) [47].

One of the most detailed accounts of a visit to the Court of Cyprus is to be found in the Journal of Ogier VIII, seigneur d'Anglure, recording a pilgrimage made in 1395-96 [48]. King James sent transportation to bring the pilgrims from Lemesos to Nicosia, provided for their lodging and material comforts most liberally, and received them at the palace "moult

[39] Machaut, *Prise* .... p. 12. Cf. also, Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* p. 83.

[40] Hill, *History of Cyprus,* II, 319, fig. 7.

[41] Jorga, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[42] A. Piaget, *Oton de Grandson, sa vie et ses poésies. Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse romande.* Troisième série, t. I, (1941), p. 174.

[43] *Ibid.,* pp. 42-43.

[44] L. T. Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby* (*Camden Society,* 1894), pp. 226 and lxv.

[45] Piaget, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[46] Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. xliv, lii and liv.

[47] Hill, *op. cit.,* II, 442.

[48] *Le Saint voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure,* publ. by F. Bonnardot and A. Longnon (*Soc. des ancs. textes frçs,* 1878), pp. 81 ff.

grandement". Ogier speaks of the King's passion for hunting and remarks that he was a rather handsome man who spoke "assés bon françois" [49]. It may be noted that when a member of the party, Monseigneur Simon de Sarrebruck, fell ill and died at Nicosia, James sent him the Order of the Sword. Moreover, the archbishop of Tarsus, who visited Simon during his illness, sang the high mass at his funeral service [50].

To come, finally, to the reign of Janus (1398-1432), we find Boucicaut again in Cyprus in 1403, this time in his capacity as Governor of Genoa. Following an attack on Famagusta by Janus, Boucicaut had set forth on a punitive expedition accompanied by the elite of the French nobility [51]. In Rhodes, Philibert de Naillac, Grand Master of the Hospital, persuaded Boucicaut to negotiate rather than attack, and Philibert himself led the embassy to Cyprus. Among those accompanying Philibert were the trusted adviser of both Boucicaut and the Duke of Bourbon, l'Ermite de la Faye, who had had much experience as a negotiator in Cyprus, and Raymond de Lescure, Grand Prior of Toulouse and later Grand Commander of the Hospitallers in Cyprus. Raymond de Lescure seems to have enjoyed a relationship with Janus nearly akin to that which existed between Philippe de Mézières and Peter I. He served Janus both as adviser and as his personal representative in delicate negotiations with the West, including the arrangements for the marriage of Janus with Charlotte of Bourbon in 1409. To return to 1403, however, the success of Philibert's embassy brought Boucicaut himself to Cyprus to ratify the peace terms. Janus received Boucicaut and his suite most cordially, and relatively amicable relations were once more established between Genoa and Cyprus [52].

Contact between Cyprus and the West was by no means limited to such transitory visits of Occidentals to the Cypriot court, frequent and important as these visits were. It had long been a traditional policy of the Lusignan kings to renew and reinforce, by continued immigration from the West, the Latin element on which the power of the island rested [53]. This policy was seconded by the Roman Church, which normally sought French clerics to place at the head of the eastern dioceses [54]. The fairly frequent arrival of these Princes of the Church, with their normally large households of clerks, chaplains and musicians, must have been one of the most important means by which the learning and culture of the West was maintained in Cyprus.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[51] J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle* (2 vols. Paris, 1886), I, 421.

[52] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 431 ff.

[53] Cf. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

The Lusignan kings found a third effective means of renewing the Latin element in Cyprus by seeking their wives in the West. Eleanor of Aragon was the wife of Peter I, while their son, Peter II, married one of the daughters of Bernabò Visconti of Milan. Another of the Visconti daughters became the first wife of Janus, son of James I and Héloïse of Brunswick. Janus' second wife, whom he married by proxy in 1409, was Charlotte of Bourbon, sister of James II, Count of La Marche. As the compilation of the Turin MS apparently began in 1413, Charlotte's arrival in Cyprus in 1411 becomes of the utmost importance.

> She was supposed to bring good luck to the island; the locusts, for instance, began to abate on her arrival; and in her time, say the chroniclers, there was peace and abundance. [55]

It is not improbable that *Tu B* is one of the few tangible remains of this period of peace and plenty. (Charlotte died in 1422.)

More important is the fact that Charlotte arrived in Cyprus with a retinue of sixty persons. An obvious lacuna in the list given by Makhairas leaves only nineteen names remaining [56]. Among the forty-one names not given it is perfectly possible that a number were those of musicians such as one would expect to find in a princely retinue of this sort. But it is in the list itself that we find the most interesting possibilities. After enumerating ladies and servants, Makhairas gives this group of names, beginning and ending, significantly, with priests:

> And she brought as chaplain the priest Sir John Maurice; also John Rondos, John Canel, James de Ras, and Gillet Veliout, Sir Peter Verniet the priest; .... [57]

It is tempting to see in these names a nucleus of priests and singers for Charlotte's private chapel. It is even more tempting to see in Gillet Veliout the same Gilet Velut whose compositions are found in the Oxford MS, Canonici Misc. 213. The probability of this identification can only be increased by the suggested Venetian origin of the Oxford MS [58]. In any case, it is not at all unlikely that *Tu B* itself was prepared at Charlotte's instigation, and that some at least of the music was composed by French musicians whom she brought with her to Cyprus.

If the foregoing discussion has done much to reduce our surprise at finding a large repertory of French music originating in Cyprus, it must

[54] L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire des Archevêques latins de l'île de Chypre* (*Archives de l'Orient latin,* II, Paris, 1884), p. 272.

[55] Hill, *op. cit.,* II, 466.

[56] L. Makhairas, *Recital concerning the sweet land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle',* ed. R. M. Dawkins (2 vols., Oxford, 1932), I, 625 f., and n. 1, p. 626.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 627.

nevertheless be admitted that our factual knowledge of Cypriot musical life is still very slight. We have seen that Peter I had an organist and singer from Liège in his chapel and that he traveled with the customary secular *"ménestreux"*. Moreover it is evident from the accounts of pilgrims that the rites of the Roman Church in Cyprus were celebrated in the same manner as in the West and probably with the same or similar music [59]. There are even indications that Cypriot musicians were not unknown in Western Europe. In the motet *Alma polis — Axe poli* found in the Chantilly MS 1047, a list of composers includes *Ydrolanus|Modulator Ciprianus* [60]. The Apt MS, in which we shall find another link with Cyprus, contains a Kyrie that bears the single word *Chipre* in place of the author's name [61].

One rather gruesome use of music in Cyprus itself is reported by the chroniclers. In 1365, two Genoese seamen jumped ship after receiving their salaries. They were captured and their right ears cut off *"au son des trompettes, selon la coutume"* [62].

The chronicles are, in fact, among the most fruitful sources of information regarding the place of music in every day life. Machaut records a typical use of music when the fleet sailed from Cyprus to join Peter I at Rhodes before the assault on Alexandria.

> Là avoit trompes & naquaires,
> Et d'instrumens plus de x. paires,
> Qui faisoient si tres grant bruit
> Que l'iaue en retentist & bruit;
> Et la marine aussi resonne
> De leur son, qui doucement sonne. [63]

With all his forces united, Peter left Rhodes on Monday, September 28, 1365. The next Sunday they arrived at

> Crambouse: là sont ostelez.
> Au matinet, messe escouta
> Li roys, que uns prestres li chanta,
> Et quant la messe fu chantée,
> Il monta dedens sa galée; .... [64]

[58] Cf. G. Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," in *Musica Disciplina* IX (1955), p. 75.

[59] E.g., Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria,* p. 23. Nicolai de Martoni in 1394 reports: "I heard matins on the night of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and masses and other customary offices during the same feast."

[60] Cf. G. Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047," in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), p. 66.

[61] A. Gastoué, *Le Manuscrit de musique du trésor d'Apt* (Paris, 1936), p. 15.

[62] Jorga, *op. cit.,* p. 256.

[63] Machaut, *Prise* ...., p. 56.

[64] *Ibid.,* p. 64.

The Cypriot chronicler, Makhairas, who was writing at first hand and in the time of Janus, also mentions on a number of occasions that a mass was "sung". He speaks too of priests chanting for the obsequies of Charlotte of Bourbon in 1422 [65], and in one instance he mentions a musician by name: "Sir Cola de la Princesse, the chief singer of Santa Sophia" (in Nicosia) [66]. In recounting the destruction of the royal palace by the Moslems in 1426, Makhairas says: "You may see how big it was: it contained four churches for the servants and for the people who were there" [67]. Makhairas thus gives direct evidence of the support and encouragement offered to the Church by the kings of Cyprus, and he provides the basis for a surmise as to where the religious music in *Tu B* might have been performed.

With only one manuscript source, our knowledge of the practice of music at the court of Cyprus is restricted to a very short period of time. In one field of artistic endeavor, however, there remain monuments from a fairly wide span of Cypriot history. The examples of western architecture still to be found in Cyprus provide concrete evidence of the close cultural ties between Cyprus and the West that our somewhat inferential discussion has led us to expect.

Throughout its development, Gothic architecture in Cyprus drew its inspiration from three different regions of France [68]. In the 13th century, a series of elegant churches were constructed in a style closely resembling that of the Ile de France. The choir of the cathedral of Santa Sophia in Nicosia, for example, is built on the same rather special plan found in Notre Dame in Paris. At Famagusta, Saint-Georges-des-Latins, dating from the end of the century, presents the plan and proportions of the Sainte-Chapelle, *and its style is no less pure* [69].

At the turn of the century, the source of inspiration seems to have shifted from the Ile de France to Champagne. The cathedral of Famagusta, constructed in the first decades of the 14th century, bears a striking resemblance in its overall plan to the church of Saint-Urbain in Troyes. Its facade, however, is patterned on the much better known facade of the cathedral of Reims. It is significant that Enlart can say of the cathedral of Famagusta that it is one of the most graceful edifices of all Gothic archi-

[65] Makhairas, *op. cit.*, I, 629.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 677.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[68] I have not had access to C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, 2 v., Paris, 1899. Instead, I have used his articles in *Histoire de l'art*, ed., A. Michel, 8 v. in 17, Paris, 1905-29. A brief summary based on Enlart may be found in J. Longnon, *Les français d'outre-mer*, pp. 183 ff.

[69] Michel, *Histoire*, II[1], 119-20.

tecture, one of the purest examples of 14th century art [70].

In the time of Peter I, the influence of southern France becomes predominant in Cypriot architecture, one of the chief reasons evidently being the many contacts between Cyprus and the papal court at Avignon. The Premonstratensian abbey of Lapaïs, or Bellapaïs, "the most beautiful example of monastic architecture in the Near East" [71], betrays this influence most conspicuously. At first sight one is struck by the resemblance of the exterior to the Palace of the Popes in Avignon, and the construction in general belongs almost completely to the art of Languedoc [72]. There is one curious anomaly, however. The architecture of the undercroft below the refectory is so nearly identical with that of the low hall in the hospital of York that it is impossible not to see some English influence in the construction of the Cypriot abbey [73].

This mixture of national influences becomes even stronger in the next few decades. Cyprus had already known all the stages in the development of Gothic art, and around 1400 the flamboyant style made its appearance there as well. It was rarely used throughout an entire edifice, however, but was usually mixed with elements of Venetian Gothic, the art of Aragon and the style of Rhodes [74]. The period of French cultural — and political — domination of Cyprus was almost at an end. Before it ended that cultural domination produced one final monument: the music in the Turin MS. From this collection, perhaps more than from any other source, we may get a vivid and unified impression of the last flowering of French Gothic art, an art that — in music as in architecture — is aptly described by the epithet flamboyant.

Having sketched at least some details of the cultural background of *Tu B,* we may now turn our attention to the manuscript itself and to its contents. Much of the information given in Besseler's description and index cited above needs no repetition. It may be well to recall a few general facts regarding the manuscript as a whole, however, before proceeding to a discussion of the relations between its music and the music of the West.

Tu B provides, or did provide, important information as to its provenance and date of origin. When it was first examined by W. Meyer, it possessed a front end-paper containing a papal privilege dated in Bologna,

[70] *Ibid.*, II², 560-61.

[71] Hill, *op. cit.*, II, 26 and n. 3.

[72] Michel, *op. cit.*, II², 560.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 559-60.

[74] *Ibid.*, III¹, 94-95.

November 23, 1413, the fourth year of the pontificate of John XXIII [75]. By this privilege, Janus, King of Cyprus, received permission to have composed a special Office in honor of St. Hilarion, who was intimately connected — in life and in death — with the island of Cyprus [76]. Followed as it was by the plainchant Office and Mass for Hilarion with which *Tu B* opens, this papal sanction immediately established both the origin of *Tu B* at the court of Cyprus and the approximate date when the compilation of the manuscript began. When it was finished is more difficult to determine. Anna, daughter of Janus, supposedly brought *Tu B* with her to Savoy in 1434 at the time of her marriage to Louis, Count of Geneva and son of Amadeus VIII of Savoy [77]. The manuscript had probably been completed some time before this date, however, for the Moslem invasion of Cyprus in 1426, resulting in the capture of Janus and the destruction of his palace, produced troubled times that were scarcely conducive to artistic activity. One might even suggest that *Tu B* was probably completed before the death of Charlotte of Bourbon in 1422. Indeed, both the musical style of this repertory and the general characteristics of the manuscript, support the conclusion that the actual copying was completed in a relatively short time after being begun around 1413. It is probably safe to assume that all or nearly all of the music was written before 1420.

One of the most striking aspects of *Tu B* is the consistency with which its contents are arranged. The manuscript is divided into five large sections, each devoted to a different type of composition. The first section, folios 1-27, contains monophonic liturgical pieces. After the Office and Mass of St. Hilarion, there follows an Office in honor of St. Anne, another Saint much venerated in Cyprus [78]. These two Offices are, in turn, followed by six plainchant settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, none of which are to be found in the *Liber Usualis*. Three of these settings are complete, while three consist of only *Kyrie, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. Probably these three were intended for use with the polyphonic settings of the Gloria and Credo that make up the second section of *Tu B*.

This second section, folios 29-57, contains seven *Gloria-Credo* pairs, plus three independent settings of the *Gloria*. The third section, folios 59-

[75] The end-paper has now disappeared, and Besseler suggests that it was destroyed in the fire of 1904. (*AfMW* VIII, 1927, 241.) The text as copied by Meyer is quoted by Besseler, *AfMW* VII, 209 and n. 7.

[76] Cf. Makhairas, *Chronicle,* I, 31 and note; II, 59.

[77] Both Besseler (*AfMW* VII, 210 and n. 1) and G. de Van (*Dufay, Opera Omnia,* II, Rome, 1948, p. ii) make this statement without adducing positive proof.

[78] St. Anne was apparently quite thoroughly dismembered, since several Cypriot churches possessed parts of her body. Most of these are specifically named, but in one case a tourist in 1394 listed among the relics he had seen merely "a large piece of St. Anne." Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria,* p. 27.

97 [79], is devoted to forty-one motets, all but one being isorhythmic. Every motet has two, differently texted upper parts, and of the total thirty-three have Latin and eight have French texts.

With the fourth section, folios 98-139 v, begins the large collection of secular songs that are entirely French, both in language and in poetic forms. Section IV itself contains 103 examples of the traditional grand *ballade* of the time. The fifth and final section contains a mixed group of sixty-four *rondeaux* and *virelais*.

Despite the collaboration of several hands in the writing of *Tu B* [80], there is only one instance when this planned arrangement by compositional types is not maintained. After the illumination of the manuscript was completed, a Mass cycle (lacking the *Agnus Dei*) was inserted on the blank pages between the fourth and fifth sections, folios 139 v-141. This addition, as it was made by the same hand that copied the Mass movements and most of the motets [81], cannot be taken as proof of a later date of composition. It might have resulted merely from a miscalculation as to the space required for section II, in which, incidentally, a great deal of space was wasted. It is just in this consistency of arrangement — maintained to a degree unknown in other sources — that we may see an indication of the speed with which *Tu B* must have been written. The music was undoubtedly collected and arranged in advance, with the completion of the manuscript as we know it taking only the time necessary for the actual copying and illumination.

In determining the nationality of this music, the most obvious element is, of course, the use of the French language in eight motets and in all of the secular songs, which also use the traditional French poetic forms. To my knowledge, no study of these texts has yet been made, and it is to specialists in the field that we must look for competent analysis. Some basic facts are immediately self-evident, however. As in Machaut, Deschamps, Oton de Grandson and *Les Cent Ballades,* we find references to Jason and Medea, to Pygmalion and to Oedipus; the key words *loyalty* and *service* appear again and again; Fortune is fickle; but the *dame d'onnour* possesses the usual *douce biauté: beau vis, gente figure, noble atour, viaire gent, atrait gracieus et gent corps amoureus* [82]. Such phrases as *Doulz Parler*

[79] Besseler's Index is slightly in error here (*AfMW* VII, 214). Motets 39 and 40 both appear on folios 95 v-96, and Motet 41 is on folios 96 v-97. This leaves 97 v blank, with the fourth section beginning, as Besseler says, on folio 98. The tenor *canon* belongs with Motet 40, not with Motet 41.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 211 and 216, n. 2.

[81] *Loc. cit.*

[82] By way of example, I give some characteristic first lines. (B and R signify *ballade* and *rondeau*. The numbers are those of Besseler's index.)

B 83. Onques Jason n'ama si fort Medee

and *Faus Semblant* attest to the continued influence of the *Roman de la Rose,* as do the references to the Rose itself [83].

In the 14th century, the Rose, as the symbol of virginity, lent itself to two contradictory interpretations. Following the frankly erotic motif of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose,* the Rose could be conquered through perseverance and art [84]. On the other hand, it could be and often was used to symbolize the Virgin Mary herself. In the ballade (98) published by Johannes Wolf, we find the Rose compared with the Virgin Mary.

Sur toute fleur la rose est colourie
E voirement pleinne de toute odeur
Parellement est la vierge Marie
De grace pleinne et de trestoute onneur.
Plus qu'autre nulle et de vraie douceur
Si fait mout bien cil qui la veut servir
Tres purement nuit et jour sans fallir.

De ses servants est tres parfaite amie
Et les delivre de toute douleur
Pourquoi la doit on de parfaite envie
Amer servir et cherir de fin cuer
Et contempler en sa tres grant valeur
Qu'on ne porroit ja toute proferir
Tres purement nuit et jour sans fallir.

Servir doit on car elle n'oblie
Cieus que la servent par toute ferveur
Parfaitement tous les jours de luer (!) vie
Soigneusement et bien sans nulle erreur
De bon voloir et de parfaite ardeur
Metant y tout le cuer par grant plaisir
Tres purement nuit et jour sans fallir. [85]

B 39. Pymalion qui moult subtilz estoit
B 56. Quant Edipus de la forest obscure
B 15. Qui cuide amer sans loiauté avoir
R 2. Puisque je sui d'amours loial servant
B 79. Fortune m'est cruelement contraire
B 76. Dame d'onnour que j'ai longtemps servie
B 59. Vostre gent corps, dame digne de pris
B 61. Puis qu'avisai vostre viaire gent
R 36. Plaisant regart et gent cors amoureus

[83] E.g., in:
B 10. Le doulz parler par gracieux atrait
R 57. Se Faus semblant vous fait joyeuse chiere
B 89. La belle et la gente rose

[84] Cf. J. Huizinga, *Le declin du moyen age,* (Paris, 1948), p. 138. It is perhaps not insignificant that just in the early years of the 15th century a tremendous literary quarrel (discussed by Huizinga, *loc. cit.*), was being waged in France over the merits and demerits of the *Roman de la Rose.*

[85] After J. Wolf, *Handbuch,* I, 373-76.

Such a poem is, of course, not without precedent, in the works of Machaut and Deschamps, among others [86]. I have quoted it in full here to show how easily the standard language of poetry could be applied to either a profane or a sacred love.

Curiously enough, this same transference of secular phraseology to poems in praise of Mary occurs in the French motets in *Tu B.* The Rose, too, reappears as the subject of both texts of Motet 19, where it is called on to comfort the other flowers and to deliver them from sorrow and danger. Perhaps the explanation of this symbolism is to be sought in the unexpected appearance of this French motet in the midst of the Latin motets [87]. At any rate, Motet 19 is followed by two Latin motets addressed to the Virgin Mary.

Of the seven other French motets, Nos. 35-41, several are directly concerned with the Virgin, although they may seem to begin as typical examples of chivalric love poetry. Motet 35 provides a characteristic example in the third stanza of the *triplum* text, *Toustans que mon esprit mire.* This stanza, incidentally, bears such a resemblance to the 5th stanza of Machaut's *Lay de Notre Dame* that I give both below for comparison.

Tu B, M 35, f. 91 v.

Car certes elle est ben celle
Qui toute vierge et pucelle
Est et qui Dieu fort ama
Qui droitement est la celle
Ou Dieu non comme en ancelle
Ains comme en mere habita.

Poésies lyriques, II, 398.

C'estes vous, tres belle
Qui estes l'entele
Flourie et nouvelle,
Mere, où Dieu, vierge et pucelle
Par deduit,
Einsi le cuit,
S'engendra, quant Gabriel
Vous dist la nouvelle
Qui "ave" s'apelle
Ce nous renouvelle,
Pour vous, Mere, à Dieu ancelle,
Car destruit
Estiemmes tuit
Dou pechié le pere Abel.

Differing as it does in form, the stanza from *Tu B* may not have been directly inspired by Machaut. At the very least, however, it provides one more bit of evidence proving how very close the authors of these poems were to the mainstream of French poetic traditions.

[86] See, for example, Machaut, *Le Lay de Nostre Dame,* publ. by V. Chichmaref, *Poésies lyriques,* 2 v. (Paris, 1909), II, 397; also Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes (Soc. des anc. textes frçs.)* I (1878), 258, *Ballade de Nostre Dame moult belle;* and III (1882), 102, a Prayer to the Virgin.

[87] Motets 1-34 are all Latin with the exception of Motet 19.

Motet 36 is more symbolic. The *triplum* begins with a paraphrase of the opening verse of Psalm XLII:

> Coume le serf a la clere fontainne
> Desire aler quant il se voit espris
> De tres grant soif, desirent mes espris
> D'aler bien tost vers la mer tres serainne.

Toward the end of the poem the author punningly calls himself *ton serf*. In the *motetus,* the moon is called on to reconcile the author with the sun, without whom he cannot live. This is clearly in the tradition of medieval sacred poetry from at least the time of Adam de St. Victor, for whom Christ was the sun and the Virgin the moon [88]. Moreover, there seem again to be distant echos of Machaut, this time more particularly from his *Lay de la Fonteinne* [89].

With Motet 37, we return to more specific references: to the *Vierge et mere de tres souverain mire* in the *triplum,* and to *Marie qui du ciel la porte|estes* in the *motetus.* (The translation of the traditional phrase, *porta celi,* will not pass unnoticed.) In the first lines of the *triplum* in Motet 38 we again find the symbol of the fountain:

> Par grant soif, clere fontainne,
> Qui toute la lignée humainne
> Reconfortes mout doucement,
> Je vieng a toi, ...

This poem later refers explicitly to the

> Vierge mere en qui toute entiere
> La deité, c'est chose clere,
> Habita sans empaichement.

Moreover, both texts in Motet 38 refer to *ton fis,* and in the musical setting these words are given striking force by their simultaneous appearance in both voices on sustained notes.

In Motets 39 and 40 there is no specific reference to the Virgin. Both *triplum* texts have been partially erased (both on folio 95 v). Perhaps they were too obviously secular. In any case, both motets repeat the traditional ideas of perpetual obedience and servitude to a lady who could as well be the Virgin as a living person. The final motet (41) brings back once again the *Vierge pucelle:*

> Qui se renoma la tres humble ancelle
> Pour quoy sans depris
> Notre aucteur entra en sa noble celle

[88] Cf. E. Misset and P. Aubry, *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1900), p. 76.

[89] *Poésies lyriques,* II, 406 ff. Cf. especially stanzas 7 and 8.

Qui nous eschappa de la mort tres felle
Qui nous tenoit pris.

This frequent appearance of religious poetry in isorhythmic motets is one of the most surprising aspects of the Cypriot repertory. It is perfectly normal, on the other hand, to find Marian poems among the Latin motet texts. There are, in fact, ten Latin motets in which both texts are addressed to the Virgin [90]. That these poems employ the traditional phraseology in praise of Mary may be clearly seen in the motet (20) published by R. Ficker. A few others may be mentioned because of a specific connection with either Cyprus or the West.

Motet 6 is particularly to be noted because the *motetus,* beginning *Maria proles regia,* ends with a plea for the intercession of Mary in favor of King Janus.

Nunc advocata pauperum
Janum tuo pro nomine
Hoc modulantem carmine
Tuere regem inclitum.

On the other hand, the texts of Motet 12, *Incessanter expectavi — Virtutis ineffabilis,* provide the only evidence of a direct connection between the Cypriot repertory and the music of the West. These two texts exactly parallel, in both construction and rhyme, the two texts of Philippe de Vitry's *Impudenter circuivi — Virtutibus laudabilis* [91]). But the resemblance goes even farther. Both motets honor the Virgin, and the *triplum* in *Tu B* presents an especially curious reworking of the earlier text as may be seen from a comparison of the first two stanzas of each. Similar correspondences continue throughout.

[90] M 3, Assumpta gemma virginum — Gratulandum mente pia
M 4, Aurora vultu pulcrior — Ave virginum flos et vita
M 6, Nate regnantis super astra patris — Maria proles regia
M 9, Porta celi fulgentibus — Assit deus huis domui
M 11, Mater alma clementie — Deitatis triclinium
M 12, Incessanter expectavi — Virtutis ineffabilis
M 16, Alma parens nata nati — O Maria stella maris
M 20, Maria mare gratie — O Maria celi porta
M 21, Dulce melos personemus — Matrem Christi rogitemus
M 30, O sacra virgo virginum — Tu nati nata suscipe
M 20 is published in DTOE XL, 12.

[91] Cf. Besseler, *AfMW* VII, 213, n. 2. For the music, see now the handsome edition of Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco, 1956), I, 91. Also in the separate *Commentary,* pp. 111 ff.

Tu B, M 12, f. 69 v.	P. de Vitry
Incessanter expectavi	Impudenter circuivi
Solem qui solus radiat	Solum quod mare terminat
Inconcusse peramavi	Indiscrete concupivi
Quidquid amat — sapiat.	Quodquod amor coinquinat,
Hic amor verus sit amor	Hic amor forsan nec amor
Quo pro mercede patior	Tunc pro mercede crucior
Ortus Christi meus amor	Aut amor nec in me amor
Quo potenter affitior.	Tunc ingratus efficior.

The two *motetus* texts are related in a different manner. Both consist of fifteen lines, all ending with the rhyme *-ilis,* but the later version carefully avoids repeating a single rhyming *word* of the earlier poem. It should be noted that the two musical settings have nothing in common except that both are isorhythmic. They are not even built on the same tenor, for de Vitry used the first section of *Alma Redemptoris Mater* while Motet 12 in *Tu B* uses — with slight variants — an *Alleluia* that appears frequently in the *Liber Usualis* [92].

In Motet 4, both of whose texts are based on the *Ave Maria,* we find another connection with the practices of Western Europe. The *triplum* uses the familiar device of the acrostic, on the words *Ave Maria gratia plenae* (sic.). In the *motetus,* however, we find a real trope, with the first word of each verse forming the entire text of *Ave Maria.* Similar tropes on *Ave Maria* may be found in a 15th-century missal from Toul and in a motet preserved in *O, Benedicta viscera — Ave Mater gratiae* [93]. In this motet, the trope begins in the *motetus,* with the first word of each six-line stanza producing the phrase: *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum.* The trope continues in the same manner in the *triplum* to complete the *Ave Maria* text [94].

This similarity of textual construction between motets in *Tu B* and *O* is made even more interesting by the fact that *O* names Akany - Gilet Velut as the composer of *Benedicta viscera — Ave Mater gratiae.* Although this cannot be thought to prove the identity of the Gillet Veliout who accompanied Charlotte of Bourbon to Cyprus, nevertheless, the circumstances are striking enough to merit being recorded.

[92] E.g., pp. 409, 416, 422, 439 and 460 among others.

[93] Cf. a *prose* published in E. Misset and W. Weale, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus. Prosae* (Insulis et Brugis, 1888-92), II, 386, No. 272. The motet is published in C. Van den Borren, *Polyphonia Sacra* (Burnham, 1932), p. 217.

[94] As published by Van den Borren, the text begins in the *motetus,* yet this part begins and ends above the *triplum.* If the parts were reversed, they would be in accord with the practice of *Tu B,* where the longer and more important text is normally given to the *triplum* as the higher of the two voice parts.

The motet texts in *Tu B* that have already been discussed illustrate two characteristics of the entire collection: the essential unity of subject in both texts of each motet and the frequent appearance of tropes. In Motet 1, *Victima laudum pascalis — Victimis in pascalibus,* both texts obviously derive from the Easter sequence, while the first two phrases of *Victimae paschali laudes* provide the tenor melody [95]. Similarly, both texts of Motet 18 trope the *Sanctus* in a manner that recalls the *Sanctus* tropes in an incomplete motet of the Apt manuscript [96].

The most interesting and unusual tropes are to be found in the series of eight motets (23-30) that are based on the great *O* antiphons for Advent. Of these antiphons, the first seven, which form the original group, are still sung at the Magnificat in Vespers from December 17 to 23 inclusive. In medieval times, however, other *O* antiphons were often added, one of the most common being *O virgo virginum,* which is troped in Motet 30. From the first lines of the texts it is evident that it is primarily the *triplum* texts that expand and paraphrase the original antiphons [97]. However, the *motetus* texts all contain prayers for the coming of Christ, and most of them refer — usually in the last stanza — to the opening words of the antiphon. I have dealt with these motets elsewhere and in greater detail [98]. Here I need only say that, to the best of my knowledge, this group of motets is unique both in its textual relationships and in its composition as a musical unit.

Since acrostics may be regarded as a special kind of trope, we may mention the last two Latin motets of the collection. In Motet 33, *Da magne pater rector Olimpi — Donis affatim perfluit orbis,* both texts are acrostics on *Deo gratias.* This is expanded to *Deo gratias Amen* as the acrostic of both texts in Motet 34, *Dignum summo patri — Dulciter hymnos.* Both motets are unusually short, and, given the acrostics on which these songs in God's praise are built, it seems likely that they were intended for use at

[95] The melody in *Tu B* differs by one note from the version in *Liber Usualis* (p. 780) — the 11th note in *Tu B* is *f* instead of *e.*

[96] A. Gastoué, *Le manuscrit . . . . d'Apt* (Paris, 1936), p. 44.

[97] Original texts in *Liber Usualis,* pp. 340-42. First lines of *Tu B* texts:

M 23, O Sapientia incarnata — Nos demoramur benigne rector
M 24, O Adonay domus Israel — Pictor eterne syderum
M 25, O radix Yesse splendida — Cunti fundent precamina
M 26, O clavis David aurea — Quis igitur aperiet
M 27, Lucis eterne splendor — Veni splendor mirabilis
M 28, O rex virtutum gloria — Quis possit dign[e] exprimere
M 29, O Emanuel rex noster — Magne virtutum conditor
M 30, O sacra virgo virginum — Tu nati nata suscipe

[98] "A Fifteenth-century 'Christmas Oratorio'," in *Essays on Music, in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison . . . .,* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 41-49.

the end of a Mass or Office. They provide a fitting close, moreover, to the collection of Latin motets as a whole.

Tropes, acrostics and poems to the Virgin Mary are not the only examples of religious texts in the *Tu B* motets. Numbers 7 and 31 celebrate the Nativity of Our Lord, while Motets 13 and 22 deal with His Ascension and Transfiguration respectively [99]. Two motets (14 and 32) honor St. Katherine, who was naturally venerated to a high degree in Cyprus, the land of her birth [100]. St. Hilarion, whose connection with *Tu B* we have already noted, appears again as the subject of Motet 17, *Magni patris magna mira — Ovent Cyprus Palestina.* Along with Cyprus, Janus is also named in the *motetus.* Beyond the appearance of Janus' name in Motets 17 and 6, Motet 8, *Gemma florens militie — Hec est dies gloriosa,* is almost wholly devoted to him. Although Janus is not mentioned by name in the *triplum,* the poem praises the King of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia. The latter crown was not assumed by the Cypriot kings until after the death of Leo de Lusignan on 29 November, 1393. While the text could, therefore, refer to Janus' father, James I, it is more likely that Janus himself is intended. His name does appear, moreover, in the *motetus,* although the text is chiefly concerned with the birth of John the Baptist.

Hec est dies gloriosa
In qua fructum generosa
Elysabeth genuit.

The same event is the subject of both texts of Motet 15, *Hunc diem festis celebremus hymnis — Precursoris verbi solennia.*

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the motets in *Tu B* deal with the same general subjects that are treated by the continental composers of Western Europe. What is unusual is the entirely sacred and even liturgical character of the Cypriot collection. There are no completely secular Latin motets, and sacred texts predominate, as we have seen, even in the French motets. This particularity may not be as strange as it seems, however. The large percentage of French secular texts in Machaut's motets must not be taken to be characteristic. In other motets of the 14th century, Latin texts predominate, with poems in honor of the Virgin and of various saints forming the two chief classes of subject matter [101]. Only one class of

[99] M 7, Natus in patris gremio — Apparuit sol hodie
M 31, Hodie puer nascitur — Homo mortalis firmiter
M 13, Christe qui supra sydera — Christe nostra salvatio
M 22, In talem transfiguratur — Jubar lustrat radiosum

[100] M 14, Personet armonia — Consonet altisonis
M 32, Flos regalis Katerina — Maxentius rex propere

[101] Cf. Besseler, *AfMW* VIII, 217.

texts — those paying homage to important contemporary personages — is but slightly represented in *Tu B*. While motets of this class are prominent in the isorhythmic motets of Dufay, it may be noted that they are not characteristic of the motets of Dunstable, which, like the Cypriot motet repertory, are primarily sacred and liturgical. The *Tu B* motets further resemble the English repertory in their adherence to the tradition of the trope, a tradition that Bukofzer finds running "like a red thread through English medieval music" [102]. Are we, then, to regard the tropes in *Tu B* as a sign of English influence? It is certainly possible, but Bukofzer himself seems to have answered the question — in discussing a telescoped setting of the *Gloria* in *Tu B* (fol. 29) — when he says: "So long as it cannot be proved to be English or to have been written under English influence we must assume that this method of abbreviation was practiced, if rarely, on the Continent also" [103]. Until it is proved that the *Tu B* motets were written under English influence, we must assume that the tradition relating the motet to the trope was just as strong in Cyprus as it was in England. Moreover, that tradition had by no means disappeared from continental sources, as is shown by the *Sanctus* and *Ave Maria* tropes cited above. It is found also in the motets of Philippe de Vitry, of whose works at least one was known to the poets represented in *Tu B* [104].

The close adherence of the Latin poetry in *Tu B* to the traditions of the West is further revealed in two ways: by the phraseology and by the poetic forms. Just as the French texts, both sacred and secular, fall back on the stock expressions of chivalric poetry, so do the Latin texts use expressions common to religious poetry almost from Ambrosian times. It is sometimes difficult to tell, indeed, whether a text is a paraphrase of an earlier poem or a new composition drawing from a common pool of traditional phraseology. By way of example, we may compare the first lines of a *prose* by Adam de Saint-Victor with the first stanza of the *motetus* in *Tu B,* Motet 16.

Adam de Saint-Victor	*Tu B,* fol. 74
O Maria, stella maris	O Maria, stella maris
Pietate singularis [105]	Pro salute mundi nata
	Creatura singularis
	Super omnes exaltata

[102] M. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950, p. 110.

[103] *Ibid.,* p. 65. Bukofzer's use of the word *Continent* is noteworthy. He seems to assume — quite rightly I believe — that the repertory of *Tu B* represents continental musical practices.

[104] Cf. Schrade, *op. cit., Commentary to Vol. I,* p. 36.

[105] Misset & Aubry, *Les Proses* ...., p. 223.

Apart from these similarities, the two texts show no further correspondence, and one would not be justified in assuming a direct relationship between them. Moreover, the possible relation of both of them to the hymn *Ave maris stella* is made even likelier by the fact that the fifth stanza of the hymn begins with the verse *Virgo singularis*. As I shall show in the continuation of this article, there is an interesting parallel between the use of traditional phraseology in the texts and the composition of the music from a common stock of melodic formulas.

The last link with western religious poetry to be mentioned is the use of standard poetic forms. No less than forty of the sixty-six Latin texts use the most common of all hymn forms: four-line stanzas with eight syllables to a line. Ten other texts use various combinations of eight- and seven-syllable lines, while six texts have lines of ten syllables. The forms of the remaining ten texts are either irregular or unusual, the *tripla* of Motets 6 and 15, for example, being in Sapphic strophes.

We may note finally that, in keeping with the obviously careful compilation of *Tu B,* both French and Latin texts seem to be remarkably free from corruption. This is particularly noticeable when *Tu B* is compared with a manuscript such as Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047, for example. Scribal errors do occur in *Tu B,* of course, but it is evident that the copyists who worked on the manuscript were exceptionally conscientious and must have been thoroughly familiar with both the Latin and French languages.

It is hoped that this discussion of the texts in *Tu B* — sketchy as it has admittedly been — has clearly shown their authors following the traditions of Western Europe with regard to subject matter, standard phraseology and poetic forms. More detailed study of the texts by competent Romanists may well disclose even more direct relationships, but I have no fear that such studies will invalidate these first impressions. Were it not for occasional references to Cyprus and King Janus — so precious in locating and dating the repertory — there seems to be little or nothing in either the French or Latin poems to distinguish them from the contemporary production of the West. The concluding part of this study will undertake to demonstrate that the same statement can be made — and with equal force — about the music itself.

Part II

That a large body of French music should have been produced at the Court of Cyprus in the early 15th century need no longer astonish anyone. Certain influences from non-French sources are perhaps to be detected, although the question of national influences in the music around 1400 is, in the present state of our knowledge, still a matter for argument. What is

most strikingly apparent in the Cypriot repertory of *Tu B* is that it is so typically — one might almost say so aggressively — French in all its aspects.

After the exclusive use of the language of northern France in the vernacular texts, the most obvious French characteristic — and this too points to northern France — is the notation. *Tu B* is customarily classed with a group of manuscripts that use the French "Mannered" notation of the late 14th century: *Ch, Mod* and *Pr* (*Rei*) [1]. The most complex, most highly mannered notation is indeed to be found in these three manuscripts, with their many special note shapes that seem to indicate an Italian influence [2]. In comparison, however, particularly with *Ch* and *Mod,* the notation of *Tu B* proves to be singularly conservative. Special note shapes do not appear at all in the motets and polyphonic Mass movements and are found but rarely in the secular songs.

This is not to say that the music of *Tu B* does not often display an extremely complicated and mannered rhythmic construction. In general, however, the rhythmic complexities are achieved through the use of syncopation, coloration and changing mensurations, either expressed by signs or implied in the grouping of rhythmic patterns. The motets, for example, use solid black notes for the basic values: Long, Breve, Semibreve and Minim. With the exception of the Maxima, which appears in the tenors of Motets 18 and 36, no other note shapes are to be found, while coloration consists simply of solid red notes. In the vocal parts, moreover, only the four basic mensurations, ⊙, ○, ☾ and ☽, are used. Actually, these mensural signs appear only in Motet 36, where the upper voices change freely from one mensuration to another. In every other motet the mensuration, in the vocal parts at least, remains unchanged throughout the entire piece and is not indicated by any sign.

Almost the same situation obtains in the polyphonic Mass movements, despite the wider stylistic variety displayed by these pieces. The one new notational device — not found in the motets — is the use of the reversed half-circle (☽) to indicate two semibreves in place of one or four minims in place of three [3]. Only the added Mass cycle (fols. 139 v-141 v) goes beyond this simplicity. Yet even here, the new notational devices consist

[1] Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1047; Modena, Bibl. Estense, L. 568; Paris, B.N., f.fr., nouv. acq. 6771. Cf. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), pp. 203 and 402 ff.

[2] Cf. W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 8.

[3] E.g., in the first Gloria-Credo pair, fols. 29 v-32. The basic mensuration is imperfect tempus with major prolation.

merely of occasional semiminims plus, more importantly, simple proportions indicated by figures and hollow notes.

As might be expected, the most striking examples of complicated rhythms and notation are to be found in the secular songs. Even in these pieces, however, complications resulting from unusual note shapes are decidedly in the minority. In the collection of 64 virelais and rondeaux that forms the final section of *Tu B,* for example, 31 pieces in *tempus imperfectum* with major prolation add only the semiminim to the four note shapes found in the motets and mass movements. (Three pieces in this mensuration do not even have semiminims.) Some seventeen other pieces in ☉ add the simple proportions $\frac{3}{2}$ and ☽, the latter being sometimes indicated by the special shapes ♦ and ♦. Curiously, these special shapes occur almost exclusively in the first half of the collection [4] and are replaced by the sign ☽ in the second half [5]. It would seem that the scribe learned, during the course of his labor, the value of the proportional sign as a means of simplifying the notation, if not of making its meaning more explicit.

This use of the reversed semicircle in *Tu B* is but one more instance in which the practices of the Cypriot composers are in accord with more or less contemporary continental sources [6]. It is also in accord with the meaning reported but not endorsed by Prosdocimus in his *Tractatus Practice de Musica Mensurabili* of 1408 [7]. As Prosdocimus indicates, the reversed semicircle itself has no inherent meaning and might be used, as it was, to indicate a number of different proportions [8]. It is significant that, at this point in his treatise, Prosdocimus is discussing the disadvantages of special note shapes because of their indefinite and irrational character. If his suggested indication of proportions by means of fractional numbers did not completely succeed in replacing arbitrary symbols, at least the special shapes soon disappeared as a notational device. In this respect the notation of *Tu B* should perhaps be regarded as progressive rather than conservative, showing the first traces of a movement toward simplification and clarification of proportional notation.

While I have not had the opportunity to study the Ballades as fully as the rest of the manuscript, the examples with which I am familiar cor-

[4] In nos. 5, 8, 16, 18, 21, 22, 26 and 27.

[5] In nos. 37, 38, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 54 and 61. In two pieces, Nos. 43 and 46, both methods of indicating this proportion are used but in different voices.

[6] Cf. Apel, *Notation,* pp. 151 f and Facs. 32 from *O.*

[7] Coussemaker, *Scriptores,* III, 216. "Item volunt aliqui alii, quod semicirculus dexter ut iste ☽ sit signum universale nobis demonstrans quod cantare debemus figuras ipsum sequentes in proportione sexquitertia ad figuras in suis propriis valoribus, sicut quatuor pro tribus, vel octo pro sex.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 217.

respond completely with the practices to be found in the Virelais and Rondeaux. Thus Ballade 93, *Tout homme veut,* published by W. Apel in facsimile [9], uses the proportions $\frac{3}{2}$ and ☽ in ☾ mensuration. Similarly, of the two Ballades published by J. Wolf [10], *Pour haut et liement chanter* (B 21) achieves its rhythmic complication through the rapid alternation of the signs ☽ and ☾. On the other hand, *Sur toute fleur* (B 98), with its different note shapes and the many proportional signs explained in the lengthy canon, is not at all typical of the notation as a whole. Its only counterparts are two Ballades, Nos. 26 and 82 and the Virelai No. 45, which all have similar canons explaining similar proportions [11]. These pieces are almost the only examples in the entire repertory of *Tu B* in which the introduction of a multitude of notational problems seems to have been the composer's chief objective. Although many of the secular songs are clearly in the "Manneristic Style" described by Apel [12], the manuscript as a whole gives no impression of having been compiled as a thesaurus of notational devices. Certainly it could never be suggested, as has been done with regard to *Ch* and *Mod,* that *Tu B* was intended for pedagogical use [13]. Indeed, by far the greater part of the notation in *Tu B* might more properly be regarded as exemplifying the classical French style that Apel finds in use around 1400 along with the "mixed" and "mannered" styles [14]. Apel's hypothesis that this classical style belongs geographically to northern France is interesting if somewhat conjectural. Nevertheless, if the hypothesis be true, the predominance of this style in *Tu B* adds further support to the suggestion that at least some of the unknown composers came from northern France, possibly with Charlotte of Bourbon.

Another musical characteristic attesting the French origin of the *Tu B* repertory is the striking use of isorhythmic techniques. This is most obvious, of course, in the motets, but even here it is surprising to find that of 41 compositions, 40 are isorhythmic. Moreover, in only three pieces is the isorhythmic construction confined entirely to the tenor and contratenor parts. In eight motets the upper voices are partially isorhythmic; i.e., clearly defined rhythmic patterns recur at the same place above each repetition of the *taleae* in the lower parts. The remaining 29 motets apply strict repetition of the rhythmic *taleae* to all four voices. Such exact or nearly exact repeti-

[9] *Notation,* Facs. 85.

[10] *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* I, 368 ff.

[11] Besseler's index mistakenly lists Ballade 25 as having the canon and gives no indication of a canon for Virelai 45.

[12] *French Secular Music,* pp. 9 ff.

[13] Cf. G. de Van, "La Pédagogie musicale à la fin du moyen âge," in *Musica Disciplina* II (1948), pp. 83 ff.

[14] *Notation,* p. 404.

tion of all the rhythmic details had become the normal method of isorhythmic composition in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Its presence, however, cannot be regarded as proof that a given motet was composed after one whose upper voices are not so strictly treated. Motet 17, for example, in which King Janus is mentioned, could not have been written before 1399, yet only its Tenor and Contratenor are isorhythmic, the upper parts being entirely free [15].

While the high percentage of isorhythmic motets may be unusual, it cannot be regarded as introducing anything foreign to Western methods. The situation is somewhat different with regard to the isorhythmic forms that are used. Even here, however, it is a matter, not of inventing new forms, but of using by preference forms that in other sources are exceptional. Our first hint of this shift in emphasis may be found in the fact that only three of the motet tenors are provided with incipits identifying them as preexisting melodies drawn from the plainchant repertory. In view of the obvious care with which *Tu B* was compiled and judging from the melodic style of the tenors themselves, it seems probable that the other 38 tenor melodies were composed expressly for the motets to which they belong. Apparently this use of original tenors is directly related to a penchant for continuous melodies without repetition. Bukofzer, in talking of the isorhythmic compositions in *OH*, notes that only two out of 22 have continuous and nonrepetitive tenors. He remarks also that this is "a rather unusual occurrence in the literature of isorhythmic construction" [16]. In *Tu B,* on the other hand, 32 of the 40 isorhythmic motets are built on continuous tenors. By far the most common isorhythmic structure, appearing in 22 of these pieces, is a threefold statement of a single isorhythmic period, with neither diminution nor melodic repetition in the tenor [17]. Nine other motets with continuous tenors have but two statements of a single period [18]. The remaining motet in this group (M 30) has four statements of a 48-bar *talea* in the tenor (16 perfections of *modus*), while the other three parts have but two *taleae* 96 bars in length [19].

The eight motets whose tenors do make use of melodic repetition display no such uniformity of formal design. Indeed there are, among these eight pieces, no less than six different formal patterns. In one motet (6)

[15] The one motet (9) that is not isorhythmic is not distinguished from the rest by any other important stylistic differences.

[16] M. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (N.Y., 1950), p. 59.

[17] Motets 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 20-29, 32, 35, 37, 38, 41.

[18] Motets 2, 11, 13, 16, 19, 33, 34, 36, 39.

[19] As the close of each tenor *talea* is strongly marked in the other parts by clear cadences, the form of the upper voices might perhaps be better described as consisting of two different *taleae* alternating in an ABAB pattern.

we find again the favorite three-period form. Here, however, the last nine perfections of each tenor *talea* are melodically identical. This use of a melodic refrain, interesting as it may be, can scarcely be counted an example of *color* in the accepted meaning of that term. The other motets, if they vary widely among themselves, at least follow normal procedures of melodic repetition.

In Motet 7, the *color,* which is divided into two identical *taleae,* is repeated without mensural change. As the period of the contratenor — the upper parts are only partially isorhythmic — is as long as the entire *color* and is therefore stated twice only, this motet exhibits the same basic structure as Motet 30. A closely related form is to be found in Motets 8 and 18. In both cases, a *color,* equal in length to the *talea,* is repeated in written-out but exact diminution. Thereafter, the same rhythmic patterns are repeated with a completely new *color.* Thus the upper parts again fall into two identical isorhythmic periods, each of which is equal to a tenor *talea* and *color* plus the diminished repetition.

Despite the use of *color* in the four motets just described, the formal patterns of the upper voices differ in no way from those to be found in motets without *color.* This is not true of the four remaining motets in whose tenors melodic repetition occurs. Motets 31 and 40 are the only two in the entire collection that use the familiar and elsewhere normal form resulting from repetition of the tenor in diminution. In each case, the *color* is divided into two identical *taleae* and is diminished by half upon repetition. The resulting form is exactly reproduced in the upper voices, of course without melodic repetition.

The last two motets in which *color* is to be found achieve an unusual balance and symmetry of form through a return, after diminution, to the original time values. The simpler form occurs in Motet 12, where the tenor is stated three times [20]. As the *color* is itself divided into two identical *taleae,* the rhythmic pattern is heard twice at the beginning and twice at the close in the original values and twice in diminution in the middle. Motet 14 is more complex. Progressive diminutions and return here produce a rhythmic pattern that may be indicated by letters as ABCBA [21]. Although this *color* is not divided into two *taleae,* it does fall into two equal halves that are further subdivided in a manner recalling the *ordines* of the 13th-century motet. The first half consists of three statements of the pattern Breve-Breve-Long, while the second half has a threefold statement of the reverse pattern, Long-Long-Breve. It may be noted that the vocal parts of Motet 14, although they are only partially isorhythmic, reinforce and make

[20] M 12: Tenor primo dicitur perfecte, 2° semi de primo, 3° ut prius.

[21] M 14: Tenor primo dicitur de tempore et modo perfectis, 2° de modo perfecto et tempore imperfecto, 3° semi de 2°, 4° ut 2°, 5° ut prius.

obvious in the most striking fashion the "bow" form that results from the mensural changes in the fivefold repetition of the tenor.

In view of the isorhythmic forms favored by Dunstable and Dufay, we may well be surprised to find repetition of the tenor in diminution so infrequently employed in the *Tu B* motets. Yet the use of continuous tenors, though it may seem a decided departure from the usual processes of isorhythmic construction, is after all a departure that is more apparent on paper than in performance. Of all the aspects of isorhythmic construction, it is the use of *color* that is least perceptible to the ear, particularly when the melodic repetitions do not coincide with the repeating rhythmic patterns. Besseler has shown that two main types of isorhythmic construction were in use simultaneously and from the earliest appearances of the form. One of these is based on the familiar repetition of the tenor in diminution, marked in the upper parts by an increase of movement along with hocket [22]. In the second type, a single *talea* was repeated several times unchanged with two or more statements of a *color* that might or might not be the same length as the rhythmic pattern. As this latter type differs only in its use of melodic repetition from the types so frequently found in *Tu B,* the Cypriot motets cannot be said to be based on any new concepts of isorhythmic construction.

I have dealt elsewhere with the manner in which isorhythm in the *Tu B* motets was made perceptible to the listener through the use of hocket, syncopation and, especially, short rhythmic sequences to produce a climactic close for each isorhythmic period [23]. As I have there indicated, the Cypriot composers neither invented these devices nor initiated their use for purposes of structural demarcation. I would add nothing more here beyond pointing out two rhythmic sequences in *Tu B* that show curious similarities, one with Machaut, the other with Cesaris (Ex. 1) [24].

Somewhat exceptionally, only the tenor and contratenor are sequential in *Tu B,* Motet 40, but the reappearance of a pattern already used twice by Machaut — once in the identical form, once with a slight variation — is certainly striking. Even more striking is the similarity between the rhythmically imitative sequences that close the isorhythmic periods in *Tu B,* Motet 1, and those that perform the same function in the motet by Johannes Cesaris. At the very least these nearly identical sequences could only stem from composers brought up in the same musical traditions. It

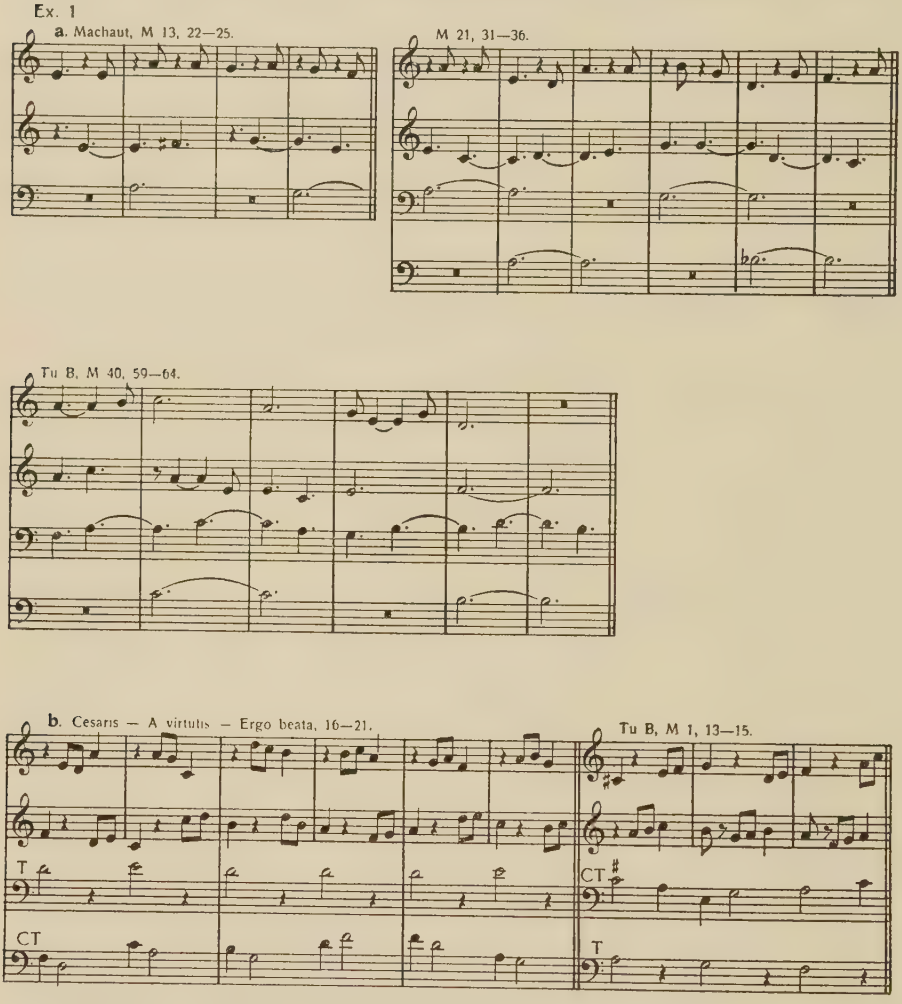
[22] *AfMW* VIII, 219.

[23] In an article to be published in the *Revue belge de musicologie.*

[24] The Machaut examples (my own transcriptions) may be compared with F. Ludwig, *Machaut, Musikalische Werke,* III, 49 and 73. The Cesaris example is from G. Reaney, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music* (American Institute of Musicology, 1955), I, 33-34.

may be added that Cesaris also uses a continuous melody in the tenor in the manner most favored by the Cypriot composers.

The overwhelming predominance of isorhythmic techniques in the *Tu B* motets prepares us to find those techniques appearing, in one way or another, in the other parts of the Cypriot repertory. As might be expected,



the influence of isorhythm is most obvious in the polyphonic Mass movements. Indeed, the single Gloria with which this section of the manuscript opens (fol. 29) gives every indication of being an isorhythmic motet. It is in typical four-voice motet style, the two upper voices having texts while the two lower parts are textless. The tenor — an unidentified melody as is usual in the motets also — is provided with a canon: *Primo sicut jacet. Secundo per semi de primo.* The contratenor is to be performed *similiter.* However, both tenor and contratenor consist of but a single *talea* and *color.*

That is to say that the *color* is not subdivided in the usual manner into two or more *taleae*. In the tenor, it is true, the 38-bar *color* (a bar equals a breve) is divided into two parts of unequal length by a Long rest in bars 17-18. Following this rest, bars 19-29 are rhythmically identical with bars 1-11. This partial correspondence between the two sections of the tenor is not reflected in the contratenor, however, nor in the vocal parts, which are completely free rhythmically. Moreover the end of the first large section is marked by Longs and double bars in all four parts, a procedure that is, of course, not normally encountered in true isorhythmic motets.

One more relationship with contemporary motet style is to be noted in the treatment of the text in this Gloria. Apart from the opening phrase: *Et in terra pax, hominibus bone voluntatis,* and the closing *Amen,* the words are so divided between the two voices that they appear to be singing two completely different texts. This manner of telescoping the words in mass movements has been mentioned in the first part of this article as being characteristic of English methods. It is, in fact, but one of many instances in which the Cypriot composers — or rather, to speak more precisely, the European composers in Cyprus — followed the practices of their contemporaries in western Europe including England.

A most unusual application of isorhythmic technique is to be found in the second Gloria-Credo pair (fols. 32 v-37). Although not written in score, these two movements are in conductus style with all four voices having the complete text. Certainly this is an unlikely style in which to look for isorhythm, and the two settings are not isorhythmic throughout. Nevertheless, a lengthy rhythmic pattern involving all four voices is repeated several times to unify this Gloria and Credo. The two movements are subdivided as follows [25]:

Sections	*Text beginning*	*Length*
1.	Et in terra pax	9 bars *
2.	Laudamus te	55 „
3.	Qui tollis	58 „
4.	Amen	32 „
1.	Patrem omnipotentem	8 bars
2.	Factorem celi	67 „
3.	Qui propter	85 „
4.	Et in spiritum	75 „
5.	Amen	44 „

* A bar equals a breve in O.

[25] The sections end with Longs and double bars in each voice. This particular subdivision of the texts, although it is used in the first three Gloria-Credo pairs in *Tu B,* seems to be rather unusual. It is perhaps not insignificant that similar subdivisions, at least of the Gloria, appear in works of Ciconia (Apel & Davison, *Historical Anthology of Music,* I, 59) and Arnold de Lantins (Van den Borren, *Polyphonia Sacra,* p. 10).

The isorhythmic passage that unifies these two movements is 29 bars long and appears five times in all: at the end of sections 2 and 3 in the Gloria and of sections 2, 3 and 4 in the Credo. As may be seen in Ex. 2 showing its first appearance in the Gloria, this passage makes use of the same structural techniques that are to be found in the *Tu B* motets as well as in other contemporary isorhythmic compositions. It begins with sequential repetitions of a five-bar rhythmic pattern that follows typical procedures for achieving a feeling of heightened rhythmic activity and complexity. Particularly noteworthy are the short hocket fragments and the use of dotted semibreves (in *tempus perfectum* with minor prolation) in three different time phases.

Following the three statements of the five-bar pattern, several shorter sequential figures may be found. Sometimes these sequences are merely rhythmic, while at other times they become melodic as well. The close rhythmic imitation between the upper voices in bars 19-22 of Ex. 2 is another device that is extremely common in such climactic passages. However, it may be worth mentioning — as this Gloria is available on records [26] — that the effect of the rhythmic climax is here much less apparent than in the isorhythmic motets. Instead of the normal motet style, beginning with sustained notes in tenor and contratenor against more rapidly moving upper parts, we find throughout this Gloria and Credo — as is inevitable in conductus style — that all voices are moving at a fairly rapid pace. The resulting rather thick texture is further congested by a good deal of unnecessary rhythmic activity in the inner voices. Thus there is not, nor can there be, any very striking contrast between the climactic final part of each section and what has preceded. It is evident, moreover, from the frequent parallel motion and the many dissonant clashes, that four-part writing in this style presented considerably greater difficulties than in normal motet style [27].

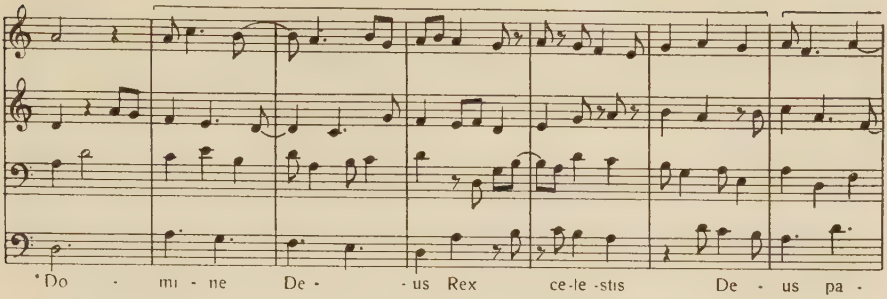
In studying and transcribing the secular songs — a process that is still far from complete — I have yet to find any that are completely isorhythmic in the manner of a few rondeaux in *Ch,* for example [28]. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence of the composers' preoccupation with rhythm as a constructive element, particularly in the frequent use of rhythmic sequences. As may be seen in Ex. 3, these sequences vary greatly in length and com-

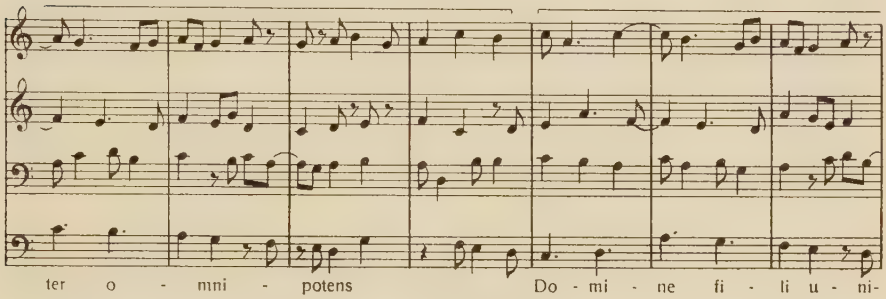
[26] *Anthologie Sonore,* No. 126.

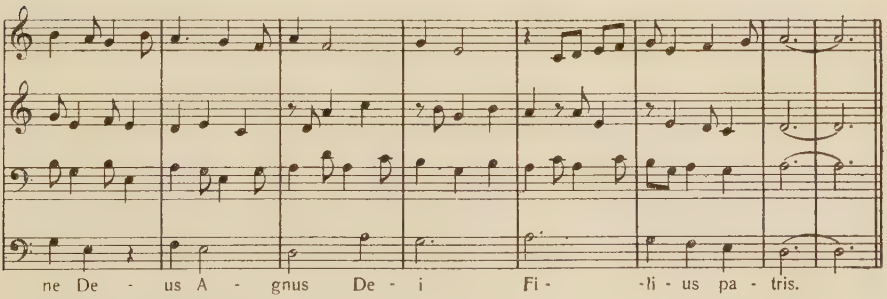
[27] Bukofzer's description and criticism of four-part conductus settings in Egerton MS 3307 (*LoM*) in *Studies,* pp. 136-37 might be applied without change to this Gloria-Credo pair in *Tu B.* Are we to see English influence in the presence in *Tu B* of two Gloria-Credo pairs in conductus style (see also No. 7, fols. 47 v-52)? For the present, the question must remain unanswered.

[28] Cf. Gilbert Reaney's Index of this MS in *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), pp. 88 ff. Also, W. Apel, *French Secular Music,* p. 7.

Ex. 2 Tu B, Et in terra, fol. 32v—34.







* All voices sing the text approximately together.

plexity. They may involve only one or two of the voices; they may even momentarily combine sequences of different lengths, as in Ex. 3b; and they occasionally become full-fledged melodic and even harmonic sequences, as in Ex. 3c. Yet the rhythmic pattern is always the essential element, for the composers do not hesitate to abandon melodic figures while retaining the original rhythms.

The question of Eastern influence on the repertory of *Tu B* is one of the most interesting and difficult of the many problems facing the student of this manuscript. The passage from *Le point agu* (Ex. 3b) may be taken as a case in point [29]. Is the tenor pattern, which may be indicated by the modern signature $\frac{3+2+3,}{8}$ a reflection of the rhythms of Greek folk music in Cyprus? Not without a great deal more corroborating evidence would one dare to assert what one might like to believe.

Similarly, one must not be too quick to find unique qualities in the *Tu B* repertory. It seems to me that Guillaume de Van was overemphasizing the individuality of these pieces when he wrote:

> The harmony employs unusual chords and does not hesitate to use dissonances that a French or Italian composer of the same period would have avoided. The use of the scale in D (first Tone) with B natural is so characteristic that one might very well call this variety of medieval Dorian the Cyprian mode, ... [30]

In another connection I have shown that the Dorian mode on D was normally written at this time with no flat in the signature [31], and it is impossible to tell how many flats may have been introduced in performance. With regard to harmony, I find no more unusual chords and no more dissonance than Apel notes in his description of the "daringly and deliberately dissonant" musical style of the late 14th century [32]. And Bukofzer speaks of "the consistent use of extreme dissonances" in the motet by Mayshuet, *Arae post libamina,* which is found in *OH* [33]. It would seem,

[29] It is evident that this sequence was not introduced casually but was carefully devised for an important structural role: it begins the 20-bar musical refrain that appears at the end of the first section of the Ballade and is exactly repeated at the end of the third section (the Ballade refrain).

[30] G. de Van, in "Analytical and Historical Notes for Volume XIII" of the *Anthologie Sonore,* Record 126.

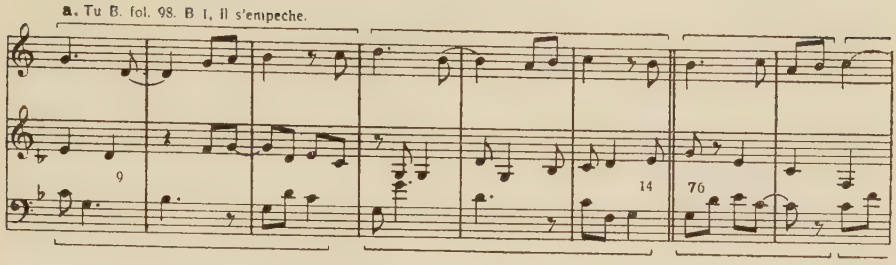
[31] R. H. Hoppin, "Partial Signatures and Musica Ficta in some early 15th-century Sources," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* VI (1953), 209-10; and "Conflicting Signatures Reviewed," in the same *Journal,* IX (1956), 112 and the Appendix.

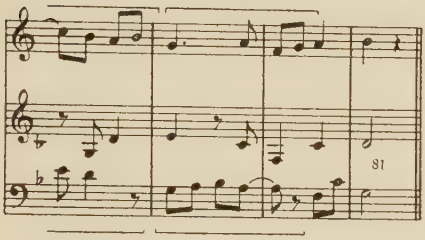
[32] *French Secular Music,* pp. 11-12.

[33] *Studies,* p. 71. Bukofzer even finds "some exceptionally rough dissonances" in Dufay's *Caput* Mass, which he attributes to the difficulty of writing in four parts. *Ibid.,* p. 275.

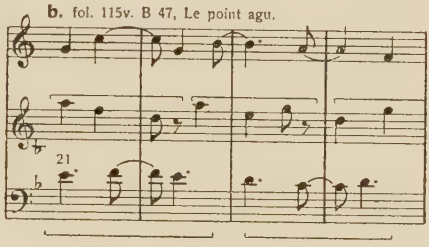
Ex. 3

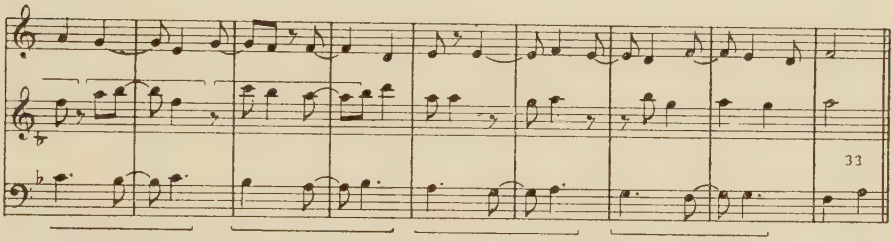
a. Tu B. fol. 98. B 1, Il s'empeche.



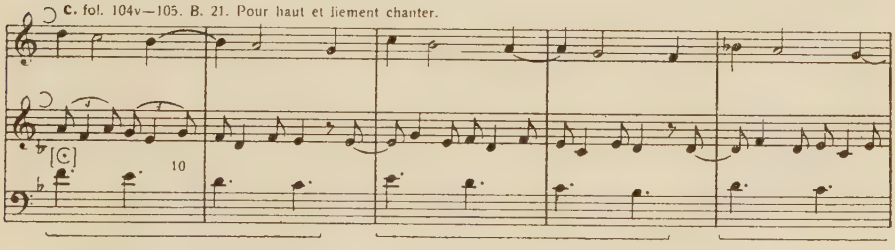


b. fol. 115v. B 47, Le point agu.





c. fol. 104v—105. B. 21. Pour haut et liement chanter.



then, that a consistently high dissonant level was characteristic of French polyphony around 1400, and the *Tu B* repertory, far from being unusual in this respect, represents the standard French practice of the time.

Much more surprising than the amount of dissonance, is the extent to which the harmonic style of the *Tu B* repertory is based on complete triads. The final chord, of course, always lacks the third, as does usually the opening chord. Elsewhere in the music, complete triads greatly outnumber those without a third. In Motet 20, for example [34], out of a total 133 bars, no more than 22 begin with only perfect consonances on the first beat. Thirty-four bars begin with a third or a sixth, while 73 begin with complete triads with either the root or the third in the bass. Moreover, the third or sixth appears as the top note on the first beat of some 58 bars. This predominance of imperfect consonances and complete triads is by no means merely the result of four-part writing. It is evident to almost the same degree in the three-part pieces, both sacred and secular. In Ballade 21, *Pour haut et liement chanter* [35], only 14 bars begin with perfect consonances, 15 have thirds or sixths on the first beat, and 22 have complete triads. Even these statistics, striking as they are, do not present a completely true picture, for in many cases where a measure begins with perfect consonances, the third is added before the chord changes.

Once again we are faced with questions of influence and of relationship with the music of Western Europe. Bukofzer has noted of many English compositions of this time that they show "a predilection for sonorous full triads in which the third is often placed conspicuously on top" [36]. Are we to see English influence on *Tu B* because it displays the same predilection and because of the frequent appearance of passages in parallel sixths? (See Ex. 3c from this same Ballade 21.) Or were these characteristics more international than Bukofzer believed? These questions must be asked, but they cannot be answered until much material still unpublished — including all of the Cypriot repertory — is made available for study.

Similar questions of influence and relationship arise with regard to the melodic style of the music in *Tu B*. Guillaume de Van, for instance, has said that "the melody betrays Italian and even oriental influences" [37].

[34] Printed in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich,* XL, 12-13.

[35] Printed in Wolf, *Handbuch,* I, 368-69. In compiling these statistics, a few short dissonances appearing on the first beat were counted according to the note to which they resolved. These two pieces were chosen solely because they have been published. In my original study similar figures were compiled for several motets in both three and four parts. ("The Motets of the early 15th Century Manuscript J. II. 9 in the Bibliotheca Nazionale of Turin" Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1952, I, 257 ff.)

[36] *Studies,* p. 110.

[37] Notes to Vol. XIII of the *Anthologie Sonore.*

A detailed investigation of this question obviously cannot be undertaken here, but one aspect of the problem may be examined briefly for the light it throws on the close relationship between the Cypriot composers and Machaut.

It has been claimed that the melodic figure shown in Ex. 4a is the "generating cell", the "basic material" from which Machaut constructed his Mass [38]. Bukofzer, however, questions this claim, believing that this motive and others of lesser importance "are not characteristic enough and are not placed conspicuously enough to serve a really unifying function" [39]. And indeed, in the *Tu B* repertory we find the same motive, or variations on it, appearing with a frequency that is at least conspicuous. In Motet 17, for example, it appears in imitation in the opening bars after the instrumental introitus (Ex. 4b). During the course of the motet the figure recurs several times in various rhythmic guises and with slight variations, and there is even a complete augmented version in the tenor (Ex. 4c). Moreover the use of this figure is by no means confined to Motet 17. It may be found, in fact, in almost every motet in the collection, and it constitutes the opening figure in the *triplum* of six other motets (Ex. 4d).

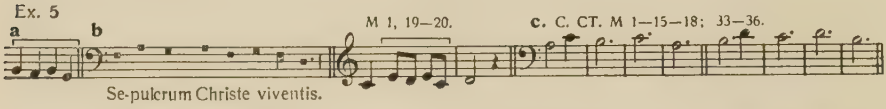
The same situation exists with regard to another figure (Ex. 5a) that is frequently found in the works of Machaut and has even been called a sort of *leit-motif* running through some of his compositions [40]. In *Tu B, Victima laudum pascalis — Victimis in pascalibus* (Motet 1) uses this same figure in a way that one is tempted to regard as an effort to achieve both a feeling of unity and a relationship between the upper voices and the tenor. That part consists of the first two phrases of the Easter sequence,

[38] Quoted from A. Machabey in G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages,* p. 356. See also, A. Machabey, *Guillaume de Machault* (Paris, 1955), II, 118 ff.

[39] *Studies,* p. 218.

[40] G. Perle, "Integrative Devices in the Music of Machaut," *The Musical Quarterly* XXXIV (1948), 171.

Victimae paschali laudes, whose text is troped by both texts of this motet. At the beginning of the second isorhythmic period, the opening notes of the fourth musical phrase of the sequence appear in the *triplum,* transposed up a fifth (Ex. 5b). And here we find the *leit-motif* that, transformed rhythmically to ♩.♪ ♩♩, occurs seven more times in the *triplum* in the 53 bars of this motet. The contratenor also uses this melodic pattern twice in augmented form in the same position at the end of the first two isorhythmic periods (Ex. 5c).



Unfortunately for the belief in a unifying function, the same melodic figure appears with equal or even greater frequency in many other pieces in *Tu B.* It becomes evident that the two patterns just discussed, as well as a number of others, formed part of a stock of figures and formulas common, in many cases, to plainchant and polyphony alike. Although a certain feeling of consistency and stylistic unity must necessarily result from the frequent use of these common figures, the haphazard and unsystematic way in which they are scattered throughout a composition make it difficult to attribute their use to a conscious striving after unity. What is more important for our present purposes, however, is that this common stock of melodic figures not only gives a family resemblance to all the pieces in *Tu B* but also relates them to the melodic traditions of northern France as represented in the works of Machaut [41].

But the music of *Tu B* is not merely a summation and consummation of 14th-century French musical practices. In some ways it is clearly progressive, foreshadowing future developments most strikingly. We find here, for example, what may well be the first appearance of a new manner of treating the contratenor part. In order to understand the importance of this phenomenon it is necessary to summarize briefly Heinrich Besseler's description of the early stages in the metamorphosis of the contratenor into a *contra bassus* or true bass part [42]. Around 1430-40, Besseler finds what he calls a six-line contratenor in some 16 pieces, nine of which are by Dufay. The essential characteristics of these contratenors include: a range of a 12th to two octaves (hence the need for a staff of six lines); a double function as a bass and middle voice with a predominance of 4ths and 5ths

[41] Gilbert Reaney includes both of the patterns just discussed among the motives characteristic of Machaut that were "the most popular ornamentations of the time." "Voices and Instruments in the Music of Guillaume de Machaut," *Revue belge de musicologie* X (1956), 101.

[42] *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon* (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 27 ff. and 45 ff.

as bass progressions; a generally instrumental character with typical triad figures that quickly pass from the top to the bottom of the entire range; and the double-octave cadence with the contratenor as the lowest voice. These characteristics so sharply define a special type of contratenor that it may be clearly recognized even when written on only five lines, and there are numerous instances when most, if not all, of them are found in what Besseler calls "deep-clef contratenors". (This means that the clef of the contratenor indicates a lower range: e.g., where the tenor has a *c*-clef on the third line, the contratenor will have a *c*-clef on the fourth.) The one characteristic of six-line contratenors that the deep-clef contratenors usually lack is the double-octave cadence. Instead, the deep-clef contratenors normally remain above the tenor in important and final cadences. This is the most important stylistic justification for Besseler's belief that the deep-clef contratenor is the older of the two types, and this chronology is corroborated by the manuscript sources [43]. Besseler lists 19 chansons with deep-clef contratenors that he dates "um 1420-40" [44]. Most of these pieces are by Dufay and his contemporaries, but it is noteworthy that Pierre Fontaine and Johannes Cesaris of the previous generation are also represented. Finally, Besseler notes that sacred music rarely used such contratenors, which he found only in five *Liedmotetten* of Dufay and an *Et in terra* of Grossin.

Obviously, the appearance of at least four deep-clef contratenors in the *Tu B* repertory becomes a matter of some importance [45]. The first two examples occur, curiously enough, in what was originally the first polyphonic Mass movement and in the last motet [46]. The other two examples are both rondeaux from the last section of the manuscript.

TABLE I

Deep-Clef Contratenors in *Tu B*

Besseler's Index No.	Folio	Text beginning	Clefs T & CT	Part ranges	Signatures T & CT
Mass 2a	29 v-30	Et in terra	c 3 c 4	f-g' B-f'	♭ ♭♭
Motet 41	97 v-98	Se je di Tres fort m'abrasa	c 3 c 4	f-f' c-f'	♭ ♭♭
Rond. 12	146	Tant est douce	c 3 c 4	f-g' c-e'	♭ ♭♭
Rond. 61	158	Parle qui veut	c 3 c 4	f-g' c-f'	♭ ♭ [♭]?

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 47 f. [44] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[45] As I have not had all the Ballades available for study, I cannot say that such contratenors are not to be found among them.

[46] That the *Et in terra* on fol. 29 was added later is proved, not only by the different hand, but also by the fact that a large illuminated initial on fol. 29 v was clearly intended to mark the beginning of the section devoted to polyphonic mass movements.

As may be seen in the above Table, these contratenors correspond exactly in range and clef with the deep-clef contratenors listed by Besseler. In three cases, the contratenors in *Tu B* have two flats in the signature against one in the tenor and none in the upper voice or voices, a situation that is also encountered in Dufay's *Hélas, ma dame* with a six-line contratenor [47]. Besseler's description agrees in other ways with these *Tu B* contratenors. They serve alternately as bass and middle voice, with fourths and fifths appearing frequently as bass progressions. They display the typical chordal figures passing rapidly from the top to the bottom of the range (Ex. 6). Finally, they make no use of either the double-octave or the octave-

Ex. 6 Deep-clef CT skips in Tu B.

fol. 30 [Laudamus te] M 41, 8—12. fol. 158, R 61, 8—11.

leap cadence. Rather they adhere, as do Besseler's deep-clef contratenors [48], to the older parallel cadences with the contratenor as a middle voice above the tenor.

In the Cypriot repertory, then, we find at least four pieces — a Mass movement, a motet with French texts and two Rondeaux — that provide us with what must be among the very early if not the earliest examples of the deep-clef contratenor. It is particularly noteworthy that this feature — one of the most progressive of the early 15th century — should be found in *Tu B,* a manuscript that is generally regarded as being "outside of the central development" [49]. It should also be noted that some of the earliest examples to be found in continental sources appear in the works of Fontaine, Cesaris and Grossin, men who were associated with Paris and the Burgundian court. Here is further proof that the unknown composers working in Cyprus were in exceptionally close contact with contemporary developments in northern France [50].

[47] Printed in Besseler, *Bourdon,* p. 261.

[48] But not invariably. *Bonté bialté* by Cesaris uses both octave-leap and double-octave cadences yet is a deep-clef contratenor. (Cf. *Bourdon,* pp. 53 & 56.) Cesaris' motet *A virtutis — Ergo beata,* on the other hand, has a deep-clef contratenor (not cited by Besseler) that functions as the bass part almost exclusively but rises above the tenor in the final parallel cadence. Cf. G. Reaney, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music* (Rome, 1955) I, pp. xv & 32 ff.

[49] Bukofzer, *Studies,* p. 76.

[50] The various associations with Cesaris (cf. *ante,* Ex .1b) become particularly provocative in view of a reference by A. Gastoué to "that handsome manuscript of Turin which has preserved diverse works of Cesaris." *Les Primitifs de la musique française* (Paris, 1922), p. 90. As yet I have found no confirmation of this statement, but one would like to know on what basis, if any, Gastoué made such an assertion.

One more extremely progressive aspect of *Tu B* may be briefly considered here. Other writers have already noted that it is the first manuscript to group polyphonic settings of Gloria and Credo in stylistically unified pairs, a practice that was soon to be followed on a more extensive scale in the famous Bologna manuscript (*BL*) [51]. In a few of the seven Gloria-Credo pairs in *Tu B* there are slight indications of initial motives or mottos, and we have already seen how one pair was unified by a special application of isorhythmic technique. In general, however, unity is maintained chiefly through adherence to a particular style — conductus, motet or cantilena — and also to the same mensuration and mode in both members of any given pair [52].

It is considerably more unexpected to find that each of the six monophonic settings of the Ordinary (fol. 19 v-27) maintains an unbroken modal unity throughout: the first three are Dorian, the fourth is Hypodorian, and the fifth and sixth are Lydian and Hypolydian respectively. But this modal unity, strange as it is, is only part of the even stranger grouping of these chants in unified cycles. Three of these Ordinaries are complete, even including the Credo (Nos. 1, 5 and 6), while the other three consist of Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei [53]. This is, of course, totally opposed to the normal method of placing all the chants of one class together that was followed in contemporary and even much later chant-books. There is no indication that these Ordinary settings were intended for any particular season or special feast, and the only plausible explanation of their appearance in *Tu B* would seem to be that they reflect, or anticipate, the general trend of the 15th century toward musical unity in the Ordinary of the Mass [54].

This trend toward unity reaches its ultimate expression in *Tu B* in the almost complete polyphonic Mass cycle (lacking only the Agnus Dei) that was added on folios 139 v-141 v, apparently after the rest of the manuscript was completed [55]. The cycle is in three voices throughout, with only one

[51] Cf. Besseler, *Bourdon,* p. 148, and Bukofzer, *Studies,* pp. 219-20. There are seven pairs; not five, as Bukofzer says.

[52] That organization of a series of pieces on the basis of mensuration and modality seems to have captured the imaginations of these composers is proved by the group of motets troping the *O* antiphons which I have discussed in another place. R. Hoppin, "A Fifteenth-Century 'Christmas Oratorio'," in *Essays on Music in honor of A. T. Davison* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 41-49.

[53] There are three *Missae breves;* not two, as Bukofzer says, *Studies,* p. 225.

[54] The question of when these monophonic Mass settings were composed is but one of many raised by the plainchant compositions in *Tu B.* As far as I know, neither these Ordinaries nor the Offices of St. Hylarion and St. Anne have been studied by competent scholars of plainchant. When this is done we should know much more about the relation of Cyprus to the Western Church.

[55] The Agnus is not missing due to lack of space, for there still remain two blank pages before the first Virelai on fol. 143.

slight inconsistency of style. In the Kyrie, whose text is totally lacking except for the initial K, the two upper voices are in the same range, *c'-d''*, over a tenor that ranges between *f-g'*. The remaining three movements, however, are in cantilena style with one texted upper voice (ranging c'-d'') plus untexted tenor and contratenor, both of which are in the range a fifth below the upper voice. This is a perfectly normal style for polyphonic Mass movements of the time, and we find it in three of the Gloria-Credo pairs as well. Although both the *superius* and the contratenor occasionally introduce rhythmic complications in the form of simple proportions not found in the other Mass movements in *Tu B,* the general rhythmic character is still much nearer to the simpler, "sacred" style than it is to the more complex style of the secular songs. The contratenor only rarely goes below the tenor and is always the middle voice in the parallel cadences which are used exclusively. Even the mensuration, *tempus perfectum* with minor prolation, cannot be regarded as indicating a much later date of composition in view of its rather frequent appearance in *Tu B,* especially in the motets [56].

Wherein, then, lies the unique quality of this Mass cycle? It is not just that it is a cycle, although that would be surprising enough in the Cypriot repertory. Far more significant is the fact that all four movements are built on the same tenor. This melody is rather long and is divided into three large sections, the first and last ending on F, the final of the mode, while the middle section ends on A. The tune has a decidedly secular even popular allure resulting both from its rhythmic patterns and the frequent subdivision into four-bar phrases (Ex. 7).

The manner in which this tenor is distributed throughout the Mass cycle is shown in Table II, to which some additional comments may be here appended.

1. In the Kyrie, the tenor is written once with a sign indicating threefold performance. The two upper voices have three different written-out sections, with threefold performance being indicated for the last section of the *duplum*!

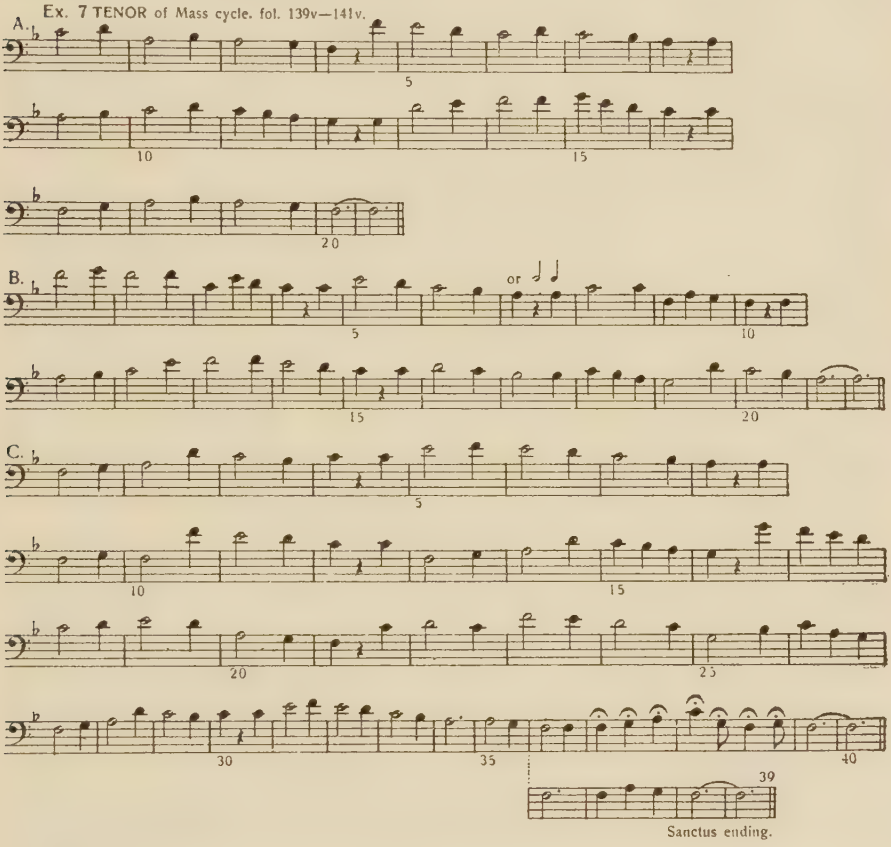
2. The A section of the tenor is missing for the Et in terra but is obviously the necessary and only possible accompaniment to the other two voices.

3. In the Credo, the first two sections of the contratenor have repeat signs, but the third is written twice in two different versions. The tenor sections are all written once only with repeat signs. The last seven notes before the final Long of section C have fermatas. These appear in the

[56] Thirteen motets use this mensuration, as against 19 in the predominating mensuration of the 14th century, *tempus imperfectum* with major prolation.

other two voices only at the end of the Amen. Such fermatas "first appear in passages of this sort early in the century", and are characteristic of Arnold de Lantins and especially of Dufay [57].

4. In section C of the tenor, the repetition of bars 1-8 in bars 27-34 did not pass unrecognized by the composer. It is with bar 27 that the Amen begins in both Gloria and Credo.



5. In the superius each section is fully written out with the end clearly marked by Longs and dividing barlines. The technique, therefore, somewhat resembles variations on a ground, for there are always new melodies above the various repetitions of the tenor. However, a descending scalar passage starting on *c''* serves as a sort of motto or head-motive at the beginning of many sections.

In the *Tu B* Mass cycle, then, we find the characteristic features of both early types of cyclic Mass. Its slight indications of motto beginnings mark it as an early example of the type that Bukofzer believed to have

[57] Cf. G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 40.

been developed by the "Franco-Flemish" school around 1425 [58]. It is, moreover, a type of cantus-firmus cycle of which "the first manifestations .... appear only slightly later, in the second quarter of the century, and are associated primarily with composers of the English school, notably Leonel Power and Dunstable" [59]. It should be noted, however, that the English composers used plainchant melodies whereas the tenor of the *Tu B* cycle is unidentified and seems suspiciously secular.

Up to the present time it has been impossible to say when this Mass cycle was added to *Tu B* by a scribe who apparently had nothing to do with the rest of the manuscript [60], and the date of composition is at least equally difficult to determine. It is possible, of course, that the *Tu B* cycle is the result of both French and English influences, but it is difficult to believe that a composer who adopted these new and progressive ideas would write in a melodic and harmonic style that would have been somewhat archaic even in 1425. Moreover, the impression this cycle gives — at least so it seems to me — is one of tentative beginnings rather than imitation of fully developed models. Can we be sure any longer that the oldest preserved Mass cycle is by Dufay, who is therefore to be regarded as the originator of a new Mass form? [61]. And even if "the cyclic tenor Mass is the most influential achievement of the English school of Renaissance music" [62], can we be sure that the English composers first conceived the idea of unifying the Mass by means of a cantus-firmus?

However unfortunate the problematical origin of the *Tu B* Mass cycle may be, it is evident that the work cannot be ignored in discussing the development of the cyclic Mass. Perhaps its main function now is to warn us that no unqualified statements can yet be made about the early stages of that development. Indeed, that is the main point I would make at the

[58] *Studies,* p. 221. See also Besseler, *Bourdon,* pp. 146-55.

[59] Bukofzer, *Loc. cit.*

[60] The statement made in the first part of this study to the effect that the Mass cycle was added "by the same hand that copied the Mass movements and most of the motets" I now believe to be an error. It is both difficult and dangerous to judge technical details of a hand from microfilm reproductions of a manuscript. However all the final Longs in the Mass cycle are decorated in the same special way that I find nowhere else in the manuscript. It is to be hoped that the scientific methods that have been perfected in the study of literary and historical documents may soon be applied systematically to the study of musical manuscripts. Surely such a study would solve many problems that now seem insoluble or at least provide clues leading to their solution. Definite proof of what may seem a most insignificant fact about a manuscript may lead the imaginative researcher to discoveries of tremendous importance. Cf., R. B. Haselden, *Scientific Aids for the Study of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1935).

[61] Besseler, *Bourdon,* p. 155.

[62] Bukofzer, *Studies,* p. 223.

TABLE II

Distribution of Tenor in *Tu B* Mass Cycle

	Text beginning in *superius*	Tenor section	Bars	Comment
1.	K....	A	1-21	Three times.
2.	Et in terra	A	1-21	
	Domine Deus	B	1-22	
	Qui tollis	C	1-27	Bar 27 becomes a Long followed by dividing barlines.
	Amen	C	27-40	The Amen begins with bar 27 of section C.
3.	Patrem omnipotentem	A	1-21	
	Et ex patre	A	1-21	
	Qui propter	B	1-22	
	Crucifixus	B	1-22	
	Et iterum venturus	C	1-40	
	Et unam sanctam	C	1-40	The Amen begins as in the Gloria with bar 27, but there is no preceding break in the section.
4.	Sanctus	C	1-4	The last bar of each of these
	Sanctus	C	5-8	sections becomes a Long.
	Sanctus	C	9-16	
	Domine Deus	C	1-13	
	Benedictus	C	13-39	The last four bars are here compressed to three.

close of this introductory survey of some of the many attractions and problems to be found in *Tu B.* It is true that its contents may be used for continental music history only with caution, but it is equally true that a reliable history of continental music cannot be written without taking into account this repertory from the court of Cyprus.

University of Texas.

THE *DECLARATIO MUSICE DISCIPLINE* OF UGOLINO OF ORVIETO: ADDENDA

ALBERT SEAY

Since the publication of "Ugolino of Orvieto, Theorist and Composer", in an earlier issue of *Musica Disciplina* [1], the author has had the opportunity to spend the academic year 1956-1957 in Italy, doing research there on the history of music theory in that country during the fifteenth century [2]. As part of the result of further exploration of both libraries and archives, certain clarifications and extensions of the already known biographical facts about Ugolino were uncovered; in addition, four other manuscripts of his *Declaratio Musice Discipline* were discovered [3]. These manuscripts were not part of the group on which the original preparation of the critical text was based and will, therefore, be utilized in the final publication of the *Declaratio* by the American Institute of Musicology as CSM 6. While, in some cases, the appearance of additional sources will change little or nothing in the presently constituted critical text, one of these four, that from the Vatican, Urb. lat. 258 (R_4), will have an important place, for it is the second complete text of the *Declaratio* to be found; up to the present, our only integral version was that of the Casanatense (R_1), described previously.

Most of the added information on the earlier activity of Ugolino during his stay in Forlì comes from the *Manoscritto, Autografo e Legale di Atti e Diritti del Reverendissimo Capitolo della Città di Forlì dall' Anno 1408 al 1498* [4]. We may summarize these entries as:

[1] Vol. IX (1955), pp. 111-166.

[2] This stay abroad was made possible through the grant to the writer of a Fulbright Research Fellowship for this period.

[3] Much valuable assistance and advice were given me by the eminent Italian scholar, Mons. Adamo Pasini, the present Archdeacon of the Duomo at Forlì, whose interest in all facets of research on Ugolino has been spurred by the interesting situation that he holds the same position today as his fellow townsman some 500 years ago. Mons. Pasini was kind enough to place at my disposal many of his own notes and to show me the pertinent portions of the various doctuments from the Archivio Capitolare quoted later on.

[4] Forlì, Archivio Capitolare, Ms. 2.

f. 4' 18 July 1411
"Ugolinus de Ser Francischi de Urbevetanis" is named as a witness at the election of one Paolo Zoanelli to the position of canon at the Cathedral of Forlì.

f. 11 19 January 1415
Ugolino is referred to as canon at Santa Croce. He was excused from attendance at the deliberations of the Capitolo, since he was absent from Forlì at that time at the Council of Constance.

f. 13 8 March 1415
Ugolino was again excused from attendance for the same reason.

f. 18' 5 February 1424
Ugolino was then present for deliberations and was carred as among those in attendance.

f. 15 12 April 1425
He was absent at that date from a meeting of the Capitolo, without authorized substitute.

An additional primary source is the *Iura Enphiteutica . . ., dal 1379 al 1633* [5], which adds little to our present store of information, for all mention of Ugolino falls on dates after 1425. These references add nothing new to what has been noted in our earlier article [6]. The most interesting portion of this manuscript is the included late copy of Ugolino's will of 1449, but without the codicils. It is, in all probability, this copy which Haberl saw and which influenced him to set that date as that of Ugolino's death [7].

In view of the above, it is evident that our original assumption, that Ugolino studied for the priesthood in the period 1400-1420, is far too broad, for his position in 1411 was of such a character that he could not have been recently ordained. It is now more probable that he finished his religious studies before 1405 at the very latest. His denomination as canon at Santa Croce in 1415 would imply that his place in the religious establishment of Forlì was not a low one, but one that had been gained through some years of meritorious service. The appointment of Ugolino as delegate to the Council of Constance and the obviously high position he held at the time in the governing body of the Church at Forlì, the Capitolo, would suggest an already long period of importance and leadership in the priestly hierarchy there.

One other reference to Uugolino is of importance, taken from a

[5] Forlì, Archivio Capitolare, Ms. 20.

[6] The full list of references to Ugolino in this manuscript has been excellently summarized by Pietro Reggiani, "Ugolino di Francesco Urbevetano", in *Studi Romagnoli,* VI (1955), pp. 285-294. The article also contains a reproduction of the portrait of Ugolino on majolica now in the Museo di Forlì.

[7] F. X. Haberl, "Bio-bibliographische Notizen über Ugolino von Orvieto", in *KMJ,* X (1895), p. 47.

Descriptione della santa chiesa metropolitana by G. Scalabrini [8]:

"Ugolino da Orvieto, archidiacono di Forlì, Arciprete di questa Chiesa, rinomato musico, compose molti libri di canto ecclesiastico, e lo vogliono inventore delle note musicali sugli articoli della mano. Fondò una cappella innominata e la sua eredità fu disposta per la mensa comune dei cappellani beneficiati dal Collegio della Cattedrale".

This quotation would make it certain that there were other compositions by Ugolino besides those ascribed to him in Rome, Casanatense, Ms. 2151 (R_1). The ambiguity of the term, "canto ecclesiastico", leaves it unclear as to what kind of compositions these would be, whether they would have been polyphonic or not. Unfortunately, no trace of these works has yet been discovered.

The four additional manuscripts are:

1. Bressanone, Museum Diocesanum Brixinense, Cod. D 21 (B).
2. Rome, Vatican, Urb. lat. 258 (R_4).
3. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. G. IV. 31 (T).
4. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Conv. Sopp. 388 (FL).

Only one of these four (R_4) contains the complete *Declaratio,* two including merely Book I or a portion thereof (B and T), while the fourth (FL) has but one chapter of Book I. In view of the circumstance that, up to now, all readings for Book III have been perforce based on only one branch of the text tradition, that represented by the two Roman manuscripts, Casanatense 2151 (R_1) and Rossiano 455 (R_2), it is indeed fortunate that another complete codex, representing an additional tradition, has been discovered.

For uniformity's sake, we append a description of each of the new manuscripts, in the same format as before:

B[9] Bressanone, Museum Diocesanum Brixinense, Cod. D 21
Folio, 287 x 205 mm., X plus 190 ff., paper.
Literature: F. X. Haberl. "Bio-bibliographische Notizen über Ugolino von Orvieto", in *KMJ,* X (1895), p. 48.

This manuscript, containing only Book I of the *Declaratio,* is not new to the literature on Ugolino, originally mentioned by F. X. Haberl in his essay of 1895. At that time, he stated that the codex, then a part of the Seminary at Bressanone, seemed to be a copy of Florence, Magliabecchiana XIX, 36 (F). For this reason, the decision was made not to include it as part of the critical apparatus of the final text; since the tradition of F lay

[8] Biblioteca Ariostea, Ms. 26, f. 710; quoted by Reggiani, *op. cit.,* p. 290.

[9] My deepest thanks go to Dr. Karl Wolfsgruber, Direttore, Museum Diocesanum Brixinense, Bressanone, who so kindly furnished me with the details concerning this manuscript.

well outside the normal one, a further copy of that manuscript would provide no real help.

Correspondence with the Direttore of the Museum, Dr. Karl Wolfsgruber, has led me to modify this position, for the derivation of *B* from *F* is now in doubt, although microfilms of the complete codex are not as yet available to make this doubt a certainty. The Museum, at the present time, is undergoing extensive repairs and alterations; as a result, its manuscripts are temporarily unavailable. Until the time when conditions have settled down somewhat and the necessary microfilms have arrived, the appended information must serve as a preliminary survey of this source.

The arrangement of the contents of *B* is:

ff. IV'		*Indices.*
1	*Inc:*	In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis amen. Declaratio musice discipline Ugolini Urbevetani Archipresbiteri Ferrariensis. Liber primus incipit. Potentiarum anime...
187'	*Expl:*	... Et de musica plana sufficiat ibi dicta. Bonitati aeternae Aqua hec et cuncta Bona procedunt. Sit laus et gloria sempiterna. Amen. Nicola Andree de Urbino scripsit M.CCCC L XXXVIIII. Die XXIII Octobris.
188-190		*Vacant.*

Examination of the various manuscripts already catalogued leads one to the conclusion that, instead of being closely tied to *F* as supposed by Haberl, *B* is, in all probability, more like Oxford, Bodleian, Canonici, Misc. 42 (*O*), described earlier [11]. Comparison of the data given for *O* and that for *B* shows that both have the same incipit and explicit, giving rise to the assumption that the two are interconnected. The final phrase, ".... Et de musica plana sufficiat ibi dicta", is not from the *Declaratio,* but is the concluding sentence of the *Lucidarium Musicae Planae* by Marchetus of Padua [12]. As we have pointed out earlier, the concluding portion of *O* is given over to Marchetus' work, giving the last two Tractatus. Collation upon receipt of the microfilms will test the truth of our assumption.

*R*4 Rom, Vatican, Urb. lat. 258 [olim 1065]
Folio, 312 x 215 mm., XII plus 362 ff., parchment.
Literature: Stomajolo, Cosimus. *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manu Scripti Recensiti..., Codices Urbinates Latini,* Romae, 1902, Vol. I, pp. 243-244.

[10] Cf. Seay, *op. cit.,* pp. 139-143.
[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 123-128.
[12] *GS,* III, p. 121.

R_4, as we have stated earlier, is the second complete manuscript of the *Declaratio,* containing all five books and the Tractatus Monochordi. Its history is not known before the late seventeenth century, for it was rebound and repaired during the Papacy of Innocent XII (1691-1700), effectively removing all traces of previous ownership. On the binding are the "insignia gentilicia" of Innocent XII, together with the "tessera" of Fr. Laur. Brancati de Lauria, card. bibliothecarii.

That this manuscript is quite a careful copy of its source is obvious, for there are numerous corrections and emendations in the margins. It is written in the hand of one scribe throughout, the same one as that of the corrections. There are elaborate illuminations at various points, the most ornate that coming at the beginning of Book I (f. 1).

There is an index in the opening folios, but this table of contents does not agree with the actual placement of the material. In all probability, the original foliation was removed at the time of the volume's renovation under Innocent XII, a new one being added afterwards, one which was one or two folios incorrect in comparison with the index. The foliations given in the following table are those now seen in the manuscript, placed in the upper right hand corner of each recto.

ff. I-IX			*Indices.*
IX'-XII			*Vacant.*
1	Bk. I	*Inc:*	In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis amen. Declaratio musice discipline Ugolini Urbevetani Archipresbiteri Ferrariensis. Liber primus incipit de plana musica. Potentiarum anime nobilissima . . .
119		*Expl:*	. . . in medio vestrum sum sicut qui ministrat (*cum notis*). Explicit liber primus.
119'	Bk. II	*Inc:*	Incipit liber secundus declarationis Musice discipline. Qui de musica melodiata simplici sive de contrapuncto tractat. Homo dicitur esse liber . . .
153'		*Expl:*	. . . ut in ipso C valeat sexta maior reperiri.
154	Bk. III	*Inc:*	Jesus. In nomine domini. De musica mensurata Egregii magistri Johannis de Muris explanatione. Incipit liber tertius declarationis musice discipline. Aristotiles in elenchis persuadens . . .
253'		*Expl:*	. . . defectum suppleat caritatis perfectio. Bonitati eterne aqua hec et bona cuncta procedunt sit Laus et gloria sempiterna. Amen.
254	Bk. IV	*Inc:*	In nomine et individue trinitatis. Incipit liber quartus musice discipline. De proportionibus musicalibus. Tres esse musicas, mundanam, scilicet, . . .
283'		*Expl:*	. . . removeatur 8 ad 6 remanet sexqui-octava 9 ad 8.
284			*Vacat.*
284'	Bk. V	*Inc:*	In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis. Amen. Incipit liber quintus. De totius musice partium speculatione. Etsi in huius operis nostri primordio de excellentia . . .

347	*Expl:*	... Item reprehendit quod non posuerit plures species diatonici.
347' Tract. Mono.	*Inc:*	In nomine sanctissime et individue trinitatis. Musice discipline quinque partium ...
360'	*Expl:*	... huius autem demonstratio est haec. Deo gratias.
361-362		*Vacant.*

T Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. G. IV. 31
Folio, 97 ff., paper.
Literature: Cimbro, Attilio. *Catalogo delle Opere Musicali ... Città di Torino, R. Biblioteca Nazionale,* Parma, 1928, p. 5.
Mazzatinti, Giuseppe, ed. *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia,* XXVIII (Torino), Firenze, 1922, p. 109.

T is a compilation of two separate manuscripts, the first including Chapters I-LXIII of the *Declaratio,* the second portions of Boetius' *De Musica.* Both are of fifteenth century origin, although only the Boetius' excerpts are dated.

The present condition of the codex is quite bad, for it was one of the manuscripts badly damaged by water during the disastrous fire of the library that took place on the night of 25-26 January 1904. In spite of careful restoration and repair, most of the opening portion, that part given over to the *Declaratio,* is almost illegible. Some small portions can be deciphered, albeit painfully, but the greater part of the manuscript has been irreparably damaged.

Its contents are:

ff. 1	*Inc:*	In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis Amen. Declaratio musice discipline Ugolini Urbevetanis Archipresbiteri ferrariensis. Liber primus incipit. Potentiarum anime nobilissima esse ...
35	*Expl:*	... lector talium troporum commixturam agnoscet.
35'-40		*Vacant.*
41	*Inc:*	Omnis quidem perceptio sensus ...
95'	*Expl:*	... vero ut in diatonicis generibus nusquam una. Frater Teodorus Urbinas scripsit hunc Boetium Cararie. M.CCCC LXX Nona Aprilis.
96		*Vacat.*
97'		*Musica* (*sine titulo* — 3 v.)

There is some adornment on the fly leaves, sketches of faces and figures, etc. A leaf from a collection of plainchant has been used as a fly leaf at the beginning.

The composition at the conclusion of the volume is anonymous and without text. It is for three voices and is in the typical white notation and style expected at the end of the fifteenth century.

The hands of the two works are different, that used in the *Declaratio* being smaller and finer than that of Fr. Teodorus. As a result, the text

of Ugolino's work is quite crowded by comparison, with many more lines to the page.

FL Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Conv. Sopp. 388
Octavo, 133 x 100 mm., 79 ff., paper.

Although, according to the records of the Laurenziana, many scholars have examined this manuscript, little seems to have been published on its contents. In general, one may say that it is a compilation of short treatises on various aspects of practical music, no one treatise occupying more than a few folios.

The scribal hand is the same throughout, with only minor variations. While it is possible that more than one scribe took part in the preparation of the volume, it cannot be so stated solely on the appearance of the hand.

There is one error in binding, for f. 6 should have been inserted between what is now f. 13 and f. 14.

The manuscript's contents are:

f. 1		*Materia medicinae.*
3	*Inc:*	Musica est peritia modulationis gradatim sono et cantu . . .
3'		*Vacat.*
4		*Tabulae contrapuncti.*
6	*Inc:*	Iesus. Qui liber in arte praticha mensurabilis cantus erudiri . . .
26	*Expl:*	. . . Diminutio fit per tertium et non per medium. Et sic est finis laus trinis. Amen. Explicit tractatu [*sic*] Magistri Johannis de Muris.
8	*Inc:*	Nota quod quattuor sunt prolationes, videlicet . . .
11	*Expl:*	. . . Item brevvis potest imperfici a semibreve vel a valore eius tam a parte ante quam a parte post, ut hic: (*figura om*).
11'	*Inc:*	De cantu figurato. Partes prolationis sunt quinque . . .
13'	*Expl:*	. . . De ligraturis in modo. *Musica.* Qui scripsit.
26	*Inc:*	Omnis autem numerus ad alterum comparatus est ei equalis . . .
28	*Expl:*	. . . 12 ad 4 proportio superpartiens est quodammodo maius cumtinet.
29	*Inc:*	Iesus. Regule de contrapuncto. El contrapuncto è simplice de unita sola nota in grave o acuto . . .
34	*Expl:*	. . . Fa cuntra mi ne mi cuntra fa inconsonantia perfecta in cuntrapuncto per alcuno modo non se debe fare. Exemplum. *Musica.* Finis, etc.
34'	*Inc:*	De arte musica plane. Qualiter autem Pictagoras adinvenit musicam membratum Marco, libro primo secundo . . .
52'	*Expl:*	. . . fit enim dyapente sono suavior et auditui amicabilior in suarum partium dividos ternaria. qua.
53	*Inc:*	Brevis et universalis regula pro fiendis mutationibus Ugulinus Archipresbyter loquitur. Ex superiobius igitur variationum descriptionibus . . .

55'	*Expl:*	... ad invicem variando simul ascendunt vel descendunt. Finis [Ugolino of Orvieto, *Declaratio Musice Discipline,* Book I, Cap. XVIII].
56	*Inc:*	Quod musica est veraciter canendi ad omnem perfectum cantum via ...
65'	*Expl:*	... autentici tangens ascensum vel aliquid descensum, ut hic patet exemplo: *Musica.*
66		*Differentiae.*
67'	*Inc:*	Nota quod isti toni suprapositi quatuor sunt autentici ...
67'	*Expl:*	... et e la mi gravibus acutis et superacutis, sicut patet. Finis.
68	*Inc:*	Concioscia cossa che el contrapuncto abbia duoe consonancie principali ...
71'	*Expl:*	... ut re fa la, ut vi, re v, fa 3, la para.
72	*Inc:*	Acuta musica colorata incipit in d la sol re acuto et terminatur in B fa ...
74	*Expl:*	... et quia aliis modis non mutatur nisi forte per saltum igitur hec sufficiant. Et hec de regulis contrapunti dicta sufficiant. Et cetera. Finis.
74'		Ad faciendum optimam vocem. [*Materia medicinae*].
75	*Inc:*	A savere la rasone e la praticha del canto fermo per insignare ad altrui e cossa necessaria ...
79'	*Expl:*	... etiam lo principio e le consonantie per le quale sono composte li dicti toni et sic. Finis.

Of these four manuscripts, R_4 is by far the most valuable in the preparation of a critical text of the *Declaratio*. In addition to its value as a second complete version, collation has also shown that it is a representative of a branch of the *stemma* not previously known. It appears that it is no nearer to the original than any of the manuscripts previously discussed, at least one other copy intervening. Its importance, however, cannot be estimated too low, for its provides a check on many readings that were hitherto only tentative.

Collation also shows that *T* is another version of the *O* tradition, presenting little difference from its brother. In view of the illegibility of the greater part of the codex, many readings are not secure. For this reason, *T* will not be made part of the critical apparatus.

We have already explained the difficulties with *B*. For the moment, a final statement on it place within the text tradition must stand in abeyance.

The one chapter represented by *FL* cannot be placed within any one of the three branches of the stemma with any great degree of security, since the amount of text contained is so small. Its readings will be added to the critical apparatus for the sake of completeness, although these readings have no effect upon the establishment of the text proper.

Colorado College.

LIFE AND WORKS OF ROBERT FAYRFAX *

EDWIN B. WARREN

A. *Introduction*

Robert Fayrfax (ca. 1464-1521), one of England's most significant but least known composers, is one of the important links between Dunstable and the later Tudor composers. His position as a leading British musician of his day has never been questioned, and in recent times he has been increasingly appreciated, though full justice has still not been done to him. Although "the name of Robert Fayrfax, Doctor of Music, is to be found in all histories of English music from the time of Thomas Morley onwards" [1], he has aroused, until recently, only the casual interest of music historiographers, largely because writers in the past have known practically nothing about his music. One reason for this is that none of his music was printed during his lifetime, and very little has ever been published. Moreover, most of what has appeared is not representative of his work, and is based upon a misleading comparison of his style as seen in a few pieces, mostly secular, with the technical methods of the Flemish composers who were beginning to be known in England shortly before Fayrfax died in 1521.

Only a few fragments of the Masses have appeared in print: the three-voice examples given by Burney [2], Hawkins [3], and Walker [4], in their histories of music, another fragment in the *Oxford History of Music* [5], a five-voice excerpt quoted by H. B. Collins in the introduction of *O Quam*

* *Editor's Note:* This is a part of a larger work, to appear in subsequent issues of *Musica Disciplina* and/or in book form in *Musicological Studies and Documents,* as companion to the forthcoming edition of Fayrfax's Masses in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae.*

[1] Dom Anselm Hughes, "An Introduction to Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. VI, Fasc. 1-3, 1952, 83-104.

[2] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1776), I, 791-93. New ed. by Frank Mercer, 2 vols. London, 1935.

[3] Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), I, 355-56. 3rd ed. London, 1935.

[4] Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1924), 27-28. See note 48.

[5] H. E. Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period,* Vol. II of the *Oxford History of Music,* William Henry Hadow, ed. (Oxford, 1901-05), 162-65. New ed. in process of publication.

Suavis [6], and that included in an article on Fayrfax by S. Royle Shore in the *Musical Times* [7]. The impressions given by these illustrative examples are not only fragmentary but misleading. Nowhere, for instance, does Burney

Sketch of Brass of Robert Fairfax and Agnes his wife.
Made in 1643.

say that the Masses are for five voices, and consequently, one deduces that Fayrfax wrote for three voices only. The only sixteenth-century publication to contain music of Fayrfax was the *Song Book* of 1530, generally attributed to Wynkyn de Worde [8]. That this first collection of mensural music

[6] *Missa O Quam Suavis, by an Anonymous English Composer Circa 1500.* Edited by H. B. Collins (Burnham, Bucks: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1927), ix.

[7] S. Royle Shore, "Robert Fayrfax", *Musical Times,* August 1, 1920, 528-29.

[8] According to A. Hyatt King, of the British Museum, the *Song Book* of 1530 was printed by an unknown printer working at "The Sign of the Black Morens". The

printed in England contained two secular pieces of Fayrfax is an indication of his contemporary renown. Nothing more appeared in print until Burney printed the aforementioned Mass fragments and also the two-voice *That was my woo*[9]. Burney adds, without any justification whatever: "The words of this Song seem to have been addressed to Henry VII on his ascending the Throne, after the battle of Bosworth, 1485." The greater pity is that Burney's judgment was handed down unquestioned and unchallenged until recent times. Hawkins printed an excerpt from the motet *Ave Dei Patris*[10] besides the Mass fragments; S. Royle Shore included brief excerpts from one of the Magnificats and one of the motets in his article in the *Musical Times*. The first really representative example of Fayrfax's music appeared in 1950 with Dom Anselm Hughes' edition of the "Regali" Magnificat[11]. His article on Fayrfax in *Grove's Dictionary*[12] contains excerpts from the Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam* (four voices), the motet *Aeternae laudis lilium* (five voices), and the two Magnificats, *O bone Jesu* (three voices) and *Regali* (five voices). This last example Dom Anselm expands in his *History of Music in Sound*[13]. These illustrations, with Reese's[14] extract from the Mass *Albanus,* give the reader a fair picture of Fayrfax's sacred style. The most recent publication has been the writer's performing edition of the motet *O lux beata Trinitas,* the first composition of Fayrfax to be printed in America[15].

The few remaining publications have been of secular pieces. John Stafford Smith printed five of Fayrfax's part-songs: *Sumwhat musyng, I love, loved ,and loved wolde I be, Most clere of colour, Alas for lak of her presens,* and *To compleyn me alas*[16]. E. F. Rimbault published a three-part song, *Who Shall Court My Fair Ladye,* which he not only attributed to "Dr. Fayrfax", but fixed to it the date 1480[17]. Stafford Smith printed the

evidence is given in full in an article, "The Book of XX Songs", by H. M. Nixon, in the *British Museum Quarterly,* vol. 16, No. 2, April 1951.

[9] Burney, *op. cit.,* 547.

[10] Hawkins, *op. cit.,* 356.

[11] Stainer & Bell.

[12] *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* 5th ed., edited by Eric Blom. (London, New York, 1954), III, 50-54. An error has crept into the quotation of the *Albanus* motive: the last two notes should be f's, not a's.

[13] *The History of Music in Sound.* General Editor: Gerald Abraham. Vol. III: *Ars Nova and the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1953).

[14] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance.* (New York, 1954), 776.

[15] Summy, 1956.

[16] John Stafford Smith, *A Collection of English Songs* (London, 1779), Nos. 2, 9, 11, 12, 14.

[17] Edward F. Rimbault, *The Ancient Vocal Music of England* (London, 1847), No. 10.

same piece with the title, *Who shall have my fair Lady,* as an anonymous composition [18]. The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, in its *Songs and Madrigals of the Fifteenth Century* (1891), reprinted *I love, loved, and loved wolde I be* [19].

With such meager publication, it is not surprising that the music of Fayrfax has remained more or less inaccessible to the public and historians alike. Few musicians have had the technical equipment for or the interest in working with the original manuscripts. When we are told that Fayrfax's "music was soon superseded by that of the succeeding generation of composers headed by Tye, and is now for the most part of purely antiquarian interest" [20], we easily find the reason for such a statement. The later simplification of notation had much to do with the fact that musicians of the seventeenth and later centuries found it easier to know the music of Tallis and Tye than that of their predecessors. Hence, without looking at the music itself, historians have been content with their superficial evaluations of Fayrfax.

Thomas Morley is an exception; he is the beginning of the chain of repetitious observations, and he did at least see some of the music of Fayrfax. In his list of "Authors whose authorities be either cited or used in this booke", he includes "D. Farfax" as one of the "Practicioners, the moste parte of whose works we have diligently perused, for finding the true *use of the Moods*" [21]. In his address "To the curteous Reader", Morley mentions Fayrfax as one of the models to be studied in learning to avoid parallel fifths and octaves [22]. Morley mentions Fayrfax in several places in his treatise, indicating that he held him in high esteem.

[18] Stafford Smith, *op. cit.,* No. 8.

[19] John E. Stevens has prepared a complete edition of BM Add. MSS 5465 (*The Fayrfax Book*) which contains Fayrfax's secular partsongs, and of Add. MSS 31922, which includes Fayrfax's "Paramese Tenor" which he discusses in "Rounds and Canons from an Early Tudor Songbook" in *Music and Letters* XXXII, No. 1, Jan. 1951, 29-37.

[20] G. E. P. Arkwright, "Fayrfax", *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3d. ed. New York, 1940) II, 212.

[21] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke,* 1597. Edited by Edmund H. Fellowes (Shakespeare Association Facsimiles No. 14; Oxford, 1937), last page, unnumbered; 151. Also edited by R. Alec Harman, with a Foreword by Thurston Dart (London, 1952), p. 321.

[22] "and though some of them doe boldly take thoses fiftes and eightes, yet shal you hardly find in master *Alfonso* (except in that place which I cited to you before), *Orlando, Striggio, Clemens non papa,* or any before them nor shal you redily find it in the works of anie of those famous english men who have beene nothing inferior in art to any of the afore named, as *Farefax, Taverner, Shepherde, Mundy, White, Persons, M. Birde,* and divers others, who never thought it greater sacriledge to spurne against the Image of a Saint then to take two perfect cordes of one kind together..."

Fayrfax was also known, at least by name, to Francis Meres, who, in his *Palladis Tamia* of 1598, names "maister Fairfax" as one of the English "musitians" comparable with those of ancient Greece[23]. Woode, of St. Andrews, apparently regarded Fayrfax as unrivalled[24]. And Fayrfax was not completely forgotten in the seventeenth century, for Charles Butler, in his *Principles of Musicke* (1636), says that Fayrfax is one of the "best Authors" to be studied by students learning to compose in a great number of parts[25]. However, the simplification of notation gradually made the older works seem esoteric. Referring to the Forrest-Heyther manuscripts, which he saw at Oxford, Anthony à Wood wrote that they were "kept only as matters of antiquity"[26]. Later musicians knew nothing older than Tye and Tallis, "until even the existence of the Fayrfax school was practically forgotten, as is shown by the preface to Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues,* published in 1653"[27].

Burney's remarks on Fayrfax's *That was my woo*[28] reflect the eighteenth century's misunderstanding of Renaissance music, as do his comments on the music in the Forrest-Heyther manuscripts:

> Bars not having been yet introduced, and being all *ad longam, alla breve,* or in *tempo di Capella,* the ligatures, prolations, and moods, render these books extremely difficult to read, or transcribe in score. However, by dint of meditation and perseverance, I have arranged the parts under each other, of several movements by all these founders of our Church Music, particularly John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, and Dr. Tye; having scored an entire Mass by each of them: as they are the most ancient and eminent of these old masters, in whose compositions the style is grave, and the harmony, in general, unexceptionable, if tried by such rules as were established during their time; but with respect to invention, air, and accent, the two first are totally deficient .... is seems as if they should not have been ranked, as they are by Morley, with those of a much higher class at a later period[29].

Burney thought more highly of the Mass *Albanus,* for in it he found "more clearness and design" than in any other works of Fayrfax[30].

[23] Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (1598), edited by Don Cameron Allen ("Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints", New-York, 1938), 288b. Most of the quotation is given by Hughes, *op. cit.,* 83.

[24] Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (2nd ed., London, 1921), 149.

[25] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Music in Singing and Setting: with the two-fold use thereof* (*Ecclesiasticall and Civil*) (London, 1636), as quoted by Morrison C. Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Music Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1940), 245.

[26] Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (London, 1691), I, 660.

[27] Davey, *op. cit.,* 149.

[28] Burney, *op. cit.,* 547.

[29] *Ibid.,* 785-86.

[30] *Ibid.,* 786.

However wrong one may consider Burney's judgments to be, one must admire him for attempting to acquaint himself with the music by transcribing the original manuscripts, and we read with sympathy even today his comments on the notational problems:

> The movements in triple Time, of these Old Masters, in which it was the Custom to set the Kyrie of every Mass, are the most unlike Music of the present times, and the most difficult to decipher; on account of the Ligatures, mixture with black Notes, perfection and imperfection of the White, occasioned by the Modal sign, and by position, which render the Notation very embarrassing. Dr. Tye, in England, and Palestrina, in Italy, seem to have been the first to quit these Measures [31].

Burney's important contemporary, Hawkins, is content with only a few lines relating to Fayrfax [32]. Without attempting to gain firsthand knowledge of the music itself, nineteenth-century writers based their "findings" upon the extracts and evaluations given by Burney and Hawkins. Ambros [33], Fétis [34], Barret [35], Rockstro [36], Nagel [37], Walker [38], Pulver [39], Gray [40], all give repetitious, distorted, and contradictory appreciations of Fayrfax's music. Davey [41] and Wooldridge [42], and, more briefly, Lang [43], are the first to come close to appraising Fayrfax at his true worth. In 1949, Dom Anselm Hughes [44] brought Pulver's manuscript sources [45] up to date. In 1952 [46] and 1954 [47] he expanded and revised it, also giving other pertinent, heretofore unpublished information concerning Fayrfax's life and music.

[31] *Ibid.*, 793.

[32] Hawkins, *op. cit.*, 356.

[33] August W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1862-89), III, 457.

[34] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique.* (2d ed. Paris, 1878), III, 178.

[35] William Alexander Barrett, *English Church Composers* (London, 1882), 9-10.

[36] William S. Rockstro, *A General History of Music* (London, 1886), 78-79.

[37] Wilibald Nagel, *Geschichte der Musik in England* (Strassburg, 1894), 29.

[38] Walker, *op. cit.*, 27-28.

[39] Jeffrey Pulver, "Robert Fayrfax", *Musical News,* Jan.-Feb., 1917, 34-35, 80-82; *Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London, 1927), 273.

[40] Cecil Gray, *History of Music* (London, 1928), 103-06.

[41] Davey, *op. cit.*, 97.

[42] Wooldridge, *op. cit., 162.*

[43] Paul H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), 273.

[44] Dom Anselm Hughes, "The Works of Robert Fayrfax", *Music and Letters,* Vol. XXX, No. 2, April 1949, 118-20.

[45] Pulver, "Robert Fayrfax", *op. cit.*, 34-35, 64, 80-82.

[46] Hughes, *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.*, 83-104.

[47] Hughes, "Fayrfax", *Grove's Dictionary,* 5th. ed. *op. cit.*, 50-54.

With Hughes, are Westrup[48], Lyon[49], Reese[50], and Stevens[51] as the most recent writers on Fayrfax to do justice to the man and his work. Of all those who have written about him, perhaps the most enthusiastic is Hayes:

> Fairfax and Cornish, with Taverner, who was not one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, form a trio of musicians of whose work England could be proud in face of that of the greatest Continental masters: and for us, who can look back on all the work of that age and see it spread out before us, the music of these composers shines like a bright gem among a mass of muddled ornaments. The degree to which these men escaped the extravagances and deliberate complexities of the school that was then sweeping through the rest of Europe is extraordinary; there is a soberness combined with a sense of clear beauty of line in their work that has no parallel until the middle period of Palestrina, and it is doubtful if even his work has more genuinely musical content. It is a form that, though clearly evolving from the earlier form that came to its perfection about 1450, has its own individuality and it rises to its highest development in the work of Fairfax: one *Gloria* by Fairfax can give more feeling of inspired spiritual exaltation than a dozen Masses by Josquin, Clemens, Willaert, and Goudimel[52].

Fayrfax's true position must lie somewhere between the two held by Burney and Hayes. That position can be determined only through a close examination of the music, a large portion of which is presented in the volume of Masses. When the motets, Magnificats, and secular pieces appear, a complete evaluation of Fayrfax's music can be made.

B. *The life of Robert Fayrfax*

Until 1952, the exact date and place of Fayrfax's birth was unknown. The dates given have varied from 1460[53] to between 1465 and 1470. The locations have also varied. Thomas Tanner (1674-1735), Bishop of St. Asaph, is among the first to give Bayford, in Hertfordshire, as Fayrfax's

[48] J. A. Westrup, in 3rd ed. of Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford, 1952), 37.

[49] Margaret E. Lyon, "Fayrfax", translated into German by Theodora Holm in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Allgemeine enzyklopädie der Musik,* ed. by Friedrich Blume (Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel und Basel, 1954), III, 1914-18.

[50] Reese, *op. cit.,* 774-77.

[51] Denis Stevens, "Prime Musician of the Nation", *The Listener,* Vol. LVII, No. 1460, March 21, 1957, 493.

[52] Gerald R. Hayes, *King's Music,* An Anthology, With an Essay by Sir H. Walford Davies, Master of the King's Musick (Oxford, 1937), 76.

[53] Dom Anselm Hughes, "Robert Fayrfax", *The Listener,* (June 2, 1949), 952.

birthplace [54]. Anthony à Wood (1632-95) says that Fayrfax "was of the same family with those of Yorkshire" [55]. *The Dictionary of National Biography* also mentions this, and adds, "but his name is invariably written Fayrfax by his contemporaries, while that of the Yorkshire family was spelled Fairfax" [56]. However, no significance can be attached to the matter of fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century spelling of proper names, for spellings vary a great deal. In various manuscripts and documents of the period Fayrfax's name appears as Farfax, Farefax, Fairfaux, Fayerfax, Feyrefax, Ffeyrfax, Ffeyrffax, Ffeirfax, and Ffayrfax, besides the two common spellings. According to Venn [57], he was the fourth son of Sir Thomas Fayrfax of Walton, which is refuted by Scaife [58]. The coat of arms in the Fayrfax Book points towards Lincolnshire as Fayrfax's birthplace. Dom Anselm Hughes has carried research into Fayrfax's birthplace further and has sent the present writer the following information:

> The coat of arms which the British Museum people thought pointed to Lincolnshire proved useful. The Yorkshire Fairfaxes have been so thoroughly studied by Scaife and others that I have no hesitation in saying that Venn was wrong. To my paragraph on p. 86 of *Musica Disciplina,* 1952, I should now add this: "Acting on this supposition, enquiries were set on foot with the Lincolnshire Archives Committee in 1952, from which it transpired that Deeping Gate is just over the county border, and in Northamptonshire. Mr. Patrick I. King, the archivist of that county, referred the writer to a manuscript in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. e 10: S.C. 32942). This was found to be a fifteenth-century calendar and miscellany, containing on ff. baptism and confirmation entries of the family of Fayrfax of Deeping Gate. Among these occurs Robert, the fourth son of William Fayrfax and Agnes his wife, who was baptized

[54] Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica,* (London, 1748, 273: "Fairfax (Robertus) rei musicae pertissimus, et ejusdem facultatis doctor Cantabrigiensis, apud Bayford in agro Hertford. vitam degit. Composuit *Cantus quosdam* MSS in museo apud fanum S. Albani, et ibidem sepultus, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 18."

[55] Anthony à Wood, *op. cit.,* I, 660: "June 26. *Rob. Fairfax* Doctor of Musick of *Cambridge* ... This Person did afterwards live in Hertfordshire, and was buried in the church at St. *Albans,* near, or under, the seat, where the Mayor of that place usually sits. I have seen some of his Musical compositions of three, or more parts, which shew the Author to be eminent in his faculty in the time he lived. Among the said compositions, which were written in a large book, were mixed with them the compositions of *William Newarke, Richard Davyes, Edmund Turges,* [etc.] ... All which lived in, or near, the time of the said Dr. Fairfax, who was of the same family with those of *York-shire.*

[56] *Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. by Leslie Stephen (London, 1889), XVIII, 137.

[57] John and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922), Part I, Vol. II, 117.

[58] Hughes, *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.,* 84.

on 23 April 1464. In the absence of any real competitive evidence elsewhere, we may now take this as a tentative date for the composer's birth." The arms of the Deeping Gate family are given in the Harleian Society's vol. 50, p. 341, as Argent, four bars and a canton gules.

The arms of the Deeping Gate family can be recognized in the coat of arms in the *Fayrfax Book*. On this evidence, Dom Anselm Hughes, in his article on Fayrfax in *Grove's Dictionary* [59] and Denis Stevens, in *The Listener* [60], state that Fayrfax was born in Deeping Gate, Lincolnshire, in 1464. Until new evidence to the contrary is produced, this date and place can be accepted as final.

Nothing of Fayrfax's life is known with certainty before his thirty-third year. It is barely possible that Gilbert Banaster, who, in 1487, succeeded Henry Abyngdon (ca. 1418-1497) as Master of the Children in the Chapel Royal, was his teacher, for there is a possibility that Fayrfax was a boy chorister in the Chapel Royal in 1480 [61]. It is known that he was one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel in the late 1490's [62]; the first-known official mention of Fayrfax comes from the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* for 1497: "December 6, 1497. Westm. Grant to Robt. Fayrfax, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel, of the free chapel in the Castle of Snodhill, in the diocese of Hereford, void by the death of Master Rich. Jaqueson" [63]. He held this post for only eleven months, for on November 16, 1498, this entry appears: "Grant to Robt. Couper of the free chapel within Snodhill Castle.... void by the surrender of Robert Fayrfax.... resigned" [64]. It is very probable that he surrendered this ecclesiastical benefice in order to take up the post of organist at St. Alban's Abbey. He must have been an excellent organist to have been selected for the position at St. Alban's, for the organ there, presented in 1438 by John Wheathampstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, was considered the finest in England at the time. Anthony à Wood says that Fayrfax held the post of "informator chori" at St. Alban's [65], which position it is assumed he held for twenty-three years while retaining his place in the Chapel Royal.

In 1501, Fayrfax graduated with a Bachelor of Music degree at Cambridge [66] and was licensed to proceed further. According to the Cambridge

[59] *Grove* (5th ed.), *op. cit.*, 50.

[60] Stevens, *op. cit.*, 493.

[61] William H. Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers* (Oxford, 1925), 37-39.

[62] —, "Robert Fayrfax", *Musical Times* (June, 1920), 384-85.

[63] Jeffrey Pulver, *Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London, 1927), 180-84.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] Anthony à Wood, *MS. Biographical Notes on Musicians.* Bodleian Library, MS. Wood 19 D (4), No. 106.

Grace Book: "Item. Conceditur magistro Fayerfax erudito in musica quod post gradum bacallariatus sua erudicione possit stare pro forma ad incipiendum in musica [67]. A year later, 1502, he composed the first music that can be dated: the five-voice motet, *Aeterne laudis lilium* in honor of the visit made by Queen Elizabeth of York to St. Alban's [68]. In her Expense Book is the entry, "Thies ar the Payements made.... from the xxiiij^{ti} Day of Marche, Anno xvij mo.... to Robert Fayrfax for setting en Anthem of oure lady and Saint Elizabeth, in rewarde, xx.s." [69]. One year later, 1503, Elizabeth died, and in the list of "Gentilmen of the King's Chapell", the name "Robert Fairfaux" comes ninth [70].

There seems to be some confusion over the date that Cambridge conferred the Doctor of Music degree on Fayrfax. The year in which he received it has been given as 1501 [71], 1502, and 1504. Pulver (without source) quotes Fayrfax as having said, in 1511, that he had possessed the degree of doctor of music for seven years; he must, therefore, have had it conferred upon him in 1504 [72]. The exercise "for his forme in proceadinge to bee Doctor" was the five-voice Mass, *O quam glorifica,* for the Lambeth Manuscript of this Mass bears the foregoing inscription [73]. He was "incorporated" Doctor of Music at Oxford in 1511, at which time it is assumed that he made the statement attributed to him by Pulver. Fayrfax is the first recorded Doctor of Music at Oxford [74].

Fayrfax's degrees and composing apparently won him advancement in the Chapel Royal, for on May 9, 1509, for "Th' entierment of the moost excellent prynce King Henry the vijth.", the name "Robert Feyrefax" heads the list [75]. Henry VIII took over the reins of government on his father's death, and at his coronation, June 24, 1509, "Robert Feyrefax" again heads the list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel [76]. Two days before (June

[66] Venn, *op. cit.,* 117.

[67] Pulver, *op. cit.,* 180-84. See also, C.F. Abdy Williams, *Musical Degrees* (London, 1894), Appendix G, 154.

[68] Stevens, *op. cit.,* 493.

[69] Jeffrey Pulver, "Robert Fayrfax", *Musical News* (London, January-February, 1917), 64-65. Also, Stevens, *op. cit.,* 493.

[70] Henry Cart de La Fontaine, *The King's Musick, a Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians, 1460-1700* (London, 1909), 2, in which the author quotes from the *Lord Chamberlain's Record,* Vol. 550, fol. 68d.

[71] Hughes, *The Listener, op. cit.,* 952.

[72] Pulver, *Musical News, op. cit.,* 64-65.

[73] See frontispiece to the writer's *The Masses of Robert Fayrfax.* [To appear. *Ed.*]

[74] Williams, *op. cit.,* 15.

[75] de La Fontaine, *op. cit.,* 2. J. S. Brewer, ed. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII* (2d ed., London, 1920), Vol. I, Pt. I, 18.

[76] Brewer, *op. cit.,* 41.

22), the king had given him an annuity, according to "Grants in June, 1509: Robert Feyrefax, gentleman of the Chapel. To have, for life, an annuity of 9 l. 2s. 6d., part payable out of the farm of Colmere, Hants, by the prior of Suthwyke, and part out of issues of co. Hants. Greenwich, 20 June, 1 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm. 22 June" [77]. The next year (1510), Fayrfax's obligations seem to have been increased, for the King's Book of Payments, under date "2. Henry VIII. December 1510", states: "Dr. Fayrfax, for board of Wm. Alderton, child of the King's Chapel, 12d. per week, 37 weeks, and for Arth. Lovekyn, 54 weeks; besides 47s. 3d. for their learning" [78]. Strangely enough, Fayrfax was never Master of the Chapel. Lawrence Squire and William Newark followed Banaster, and when Newark died in 1509, Cornish was given the appointment. He outlived Fayrfax by two years.

On February 22, 1511, the infant son of Henry VIII, Prince Henry, died, and at his "entierment" on the 28th, "Mr. Doctor Farefax" heads the list of Gentlemen of the Chapel [79]. (Wm Cornish is sixth on the list.) It was in this year that Fayrfax was admitted to the Doctorate at Oxford. British Museum Add. MSS. 18, 826, f. 31, mentions that on July 3, of the same year, a "Warrant to the Great Wardrobe for a riding gown to Dr. Fairefax, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel", was issued [80]. According to the King's Book of Payments, Fayrfax continued to have charge of the two choir boys during 1511 and 1512.

Meanwhile, Fayrfax's income had been increased, according to the "Grants in March" for 1513:

> John Fyssher, gentleman of the Chapel. Corrody in the monastery of Stanley, on its surrender by Robert Fayrfax, gentleman of the Chapel. Greenwich, 21 Feb. 4 Hen. VIII. Del. Charing, 6 March [81].

This is the only reference to the benefice that Fayrfax had evidently been receiving. The annuity granted him by Henry in 1509 he apparently had been sharing with Robert Bithesee, according to an entry in 1513 [82]. In September, 1514, his annuity was further strengthened. Two entries in "Grants in Sept." read:

> Robert Fairfax, gentleman of the Chapel. To be one of the knights of the King's alms in the College of St. Mary and St. George, in Windsor Castle, with 12d. a day for life. Del. Knoll. 10 Sept. 6 Hen. VIII [83].

[77] *Ibid.*, 53.
[78] Brewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 1448.
[79] de La Fontaine, *op. cit.*, 4; Brewer, *op. cit.*, 2d ed. Vol. I, Pt. I, 382.
[80] Brewer, *op. cit.*, 436. [81] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, 787.
[82] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, 1101. [83] *Ibid.*, 1398.

> For Robert Fairfax, gentleman of the Chapel Royal. To be one of the Poor Knights of Windsor, with 12d. a day. Del. Knoll, 10 Sept. 6 Hen. VIII [84].

The only record of Fayrfax in 1515 is the renewal, on June 25, of the annuity he held jointly with Robert Bithesee [85]. It is likely that Fayrfax continued to hold the annuity, with Bithesee, until his death, for in 1520, Sept. 29, under "Annuities" is the entry: "Hants.-Robt. Fayrfax, gentleman of the Chapel, and Robert Bythesee, 9 l. 2s. 6d." [86].

Fayrfax was well rewarded for any special work he did. At New Year, the King and his musicians usually exchanged gifts, according to several entries in the Royal Account Books from this period onward, and any music composed for this occasion as a gift for the King was certain to bring a substantial reward. Thus, for January, 1516, this entry appears in the King's Book of Payments: [87]

> King at Greenwich. Rewards on New Year's Day. Dr. Fayrfax, for a book, 13 l. 6s. 8d.

There are similar entries for the next three years: [88]

> January, 1517. — King at Greenwich. Mr. Fairfax, for a book of anthems, 20 l.
>
> January, 1518. — King at Windsor; 17th at Newhall. Dr. Fairfax, for "a pricksongebook," 20 l.
>
> 1519. Saturday, New Year's Day ... to Dr. Fairfax, for a „balet boke limned," 20 l.

It is almost a certainty that the celebrated *Fayrfax Book* (B.M. Add. MS. 5465) is one of these. On the strength of these entries, Arkwright takes for granted that Fayrfax found employment as a writer and illuminator of manuscripts [89]. Williams and J. A. Fuller Maitland [90], among others, are of the same opinion. However, Pulver probably comes nearer the truth when he contends

> .... these sums are far too large for them to be looked upon as payment for the mere copying of the music, as many writers suppose; the reward was quite sufficient for the composition of the music itself [91].

[84] *Ibid.*, 1st. ed., Vol. I, Pt. II, 877.
[85] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 168-69.
[86] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, 365.
[87] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 1469.
[88] *Ibid.*, 1473, 1476; Vol. III, Pt. II, 1533.
Grove (3d ed.), *op. cit.*, II, 212.
[90] Williams, *op. cit.*, 17; J. A. Fuller Maitland, *Dictionary of National Biography, op. cit.*, XVIII, 138.
[91] Pulver, *Biographical Dictionary, op. cit.*, 183.

The climax of Fayrfax's career came in June of 1520, when, heading the list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal [92], he accompanied Henry VIII to France to meet Francis I at the historic Field of the Cloth of Gold. The royal choirs of both countries appeared in magnificent vestments and attended all ceremonies. In an anonymous "news letter", the writer, in giving "some account of the order of the interview in these past days", speaks frequently of the "great noise of artillery and music", of "trumpets and other instruments" sounding "so that never was heard such joy" [93]. On Trinity Sunday, June 24, the chapels of the English and French monarchs combined forces in singing the Mass which was celebrated by the Archbishop of York [94], and which is vividly described in the anonymous news letter:

> About noon the English Legate commenced the high mass *De Trinitate.* The first introit was sung by the English chanters, the second by the French. They had arranged that when the French organist played, the French chanters should sing, and *vice versâ.* Pierre Mouton played the *Kyrie,* then the English the *Gloria in Excelsis;* the *Patrem* was sung by the French, with the King's band of *cors de sabuttes* and fifes, the *Sanctus* by the English, and the *Agnus Dei* by the French, who concluded with several motetts [95].

It is interesting to note the similarity in a French account of the same event:

> Et environ l'heure de midi fut par le Legat d'Angleterre commencé la grand' Messe *in Pontificalibus,* qui fut *de Trinitate.* Le premier Introit fut dit par les Chantres d'Angleterre; le second par ceus de France; & fut accordé entre lesdits Chantres que quand l'Organiste de France toucheroit des Orgues, qu'ils chanteroient; & pareillement quand l'Organiste d'Angleterre jouëroit, que ceux de son pays chanteroient.
>
> Et par ainsi Maistre Pierre Mouton commença à jouer le Kyrie avec les Chantres de France, qu'ils faisoit bon ouir. Le *Gloria in excelsis,* par l'Organiste d'Angleterre: Patrem, par ceux de France, là où estoient les cors de Sabbuces & fiffres du Roy avec les Chantres; & les faisoit si bon ouir, qu'il est impossible d'ouir plus grande melodie. Le *Sanctus* fut dit par ceux d'Angleterre, & l'*Agnus Dei* par cuex de France, qui dirent a la fin plusieurs motets, qu'il faisoit bon ouir [96].

After his return to England, the only additional information about Fayrfax is the renewal, in September, 1520, of the annuity, mentioned earlier, that he shared with Bythesee. This is all that is known of his life.

[92] Brewer, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, Pt. I, 245.
[93] *Ibid.,* 303-05.
[94] Lang, *op. cit.,* 298.
[95] Brewer, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, Pt. I, 312.
[96] R.P. Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française* (Paris, 1732), IV, 178.

Because of the following entry in the State Papers, under "Grants in February, 1529", the date of Fayrfax's death was originally supposed to be 1529.

> 12. Richard Buclande. Grant of an annual rent of 9 l. 2s. 6d. payable as follows: viz., 7 l. 18s. 5d. out of the farm of Coleman, Hants, by the prior of Southwike, and 24s. 1d. oud of the issues of the co. Hants: on surrender by Robert Bithesey of patent 25 June 7 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Rob. Fairefax, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, now deceased, and the said Robert. Westm., 12 Febr. — Pat. 20 Hen. VIII [97].

1529 is the date given by W. Barclay Squire [98], Eitner [99], Nagel, Davey, and Venn [100], who dates Fayrfax's will as 1529; this is also the date given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Rockstro gives the date as 1530 [101]. Walker, Grove, Pulver [102], and more recent writers give the date as 1521, which has been established to be correct. Although the entry quoted above says "now deceased", it does not say how long Fayrfax had been dead, and it specifies that Bithesey, not Fayrfax, is surrendering the grant. Doubtless, Bithesey had held the annuity alone since Fayrfax's death in 1521. This latter date is decided by the fact that letters of administration were granted to Fayrfax's wife, Agnes, on November 14, 1521, giving her the authority "to administer the possessions of Robert Fayrfax Doctor of Music, of the parish of St. Andrews, (now the Abbey parish) St. Albans" [103]. According to the B.M. Add. MS. 5465 (the *Fayrfax Book*),

> iacet sepultus in ecclesia Monasterialis Sci. Albani ... The Coate and inscription is covered with the seate of the Mayoress of St. Albans [104].

The slab which covers the grave has been described by William Page in a magazine article, a portion of which is here quoted.

[97] Brewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, 2349.

[98] W. Barclay Squire, "On an Early Sixteenth Century MS of English Music in the Library of Eton College", *Archeologia* (London, 1898), LVI, 89-102.

[99] Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexikon der Musiker, und Musikgelehrten der Christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1900-04), III, 382. (New York, 1948).

[100] Nagel, *op. cit.*, 30; Davey, *op. cit.*, 97; Venn, *op. cit.*, 117.

[101] William Rockstro, in *Social England*, by H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann (London, 1903), II, 512.

[102] Walker, *op. cit.*, 27; Grove (5th ed.), III, 50; 3d ed., II, 212; Pulver, *Biographical Dictionary, op. cit.*, 184.

[103] William Page, "The Brasses and Indents in St. Alban's Abbey", *The Home Counties Magazine* (London, 1899), I, 161.

[104] Pulver, *Music News, op. cit.*, 81.

> No. 38. Slab in the presbytery, showing indents only for the figures of a man and wife, foot inscription, two daughters and two sons. The indents of this slab seem to correspond with the sketch made by John Philpot, Somerset Herald, in 1643, of the brass of Robt. Fairfax, Doctor of Mus., and Agnes, his wife. The sketch shows the husband in a doctor's robe trimmed with fur, his hands being raised in the attitude of prayer: the wife is dressed in a long garment and wears the "butterfly" head-dress. Her hands are raised in prayer. The foot inscription, according to Philpot, ran as follows: "Pray for the soules of Master Robert Fairfax, doctor of music and Agnes his wife, the which Robert deceased the xxiiij day of October the year of our Lord God M°V°xxj on whose soules Jeshu have mercy. Amen." .... The date on Philpot's sketch is indistinct; it looks like 1571, but as Letters of Administration were granted to Agnes, the widow, on 14 November, 1521, I think it may be taken that 1521 is the year intended by Philpot; the third figure, which has a line through it, he probably meant to be crossed out. This would make the date correct.... The size of the slab is 66 inches by 31 inches [105].

On page 160 of the magazine article cited, there is a reproduction of Philpot's sketch of the brass. In the B.M. Add. MS. 9064, page 122, there is a sketch of an unknown brass in St. Alban's Abbey, which has been thought to be of Fayrfax and his wife. It is impossible to tell much from the sketch that Philpot made of the original brass in 1643, but it remains, with the one in the above-mentioned manuscript, the only existing portrait of Robert and Agnes Fayrfax.

C. *The works of Robert Fayrfax*

The existing manuscripts dating from the reigns of Henry VII (1485-1509) and Henry VIII (1509-47) offer proof of tremendous musical activity in England during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Fayrfax is the most abundant contributor to these musical sources, being represented in twenty-seven manuscripts [106]. However, besides the music of Fayrfax, these and other manuscripts [107] contain the works of at least

[105] Page, *op. cit.*, 159.

[106] Dom Anselm Hughes discusses 26 of these MSS in *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.*, 89-96. He has informed the present writer that an additional MS should be cited, the Wells Fragment, which contains an incomplete copy of *Somewhat musing,* and a three-part composition on the same subject as the *Paramese Tenor.*

[107] The Pepysian MS 1236 (ca. 1480) contains the earliest composers that can rightly be included in the Fayrfax period. They are of the generation immediately preceding Fayrfax: Banaster and his contemporaries. Other MSS are Lambeth MS 438; B.M. Add. 5665, including copies of documents dated 1510 and 1511 and 117 pieces by six composers; Royal MS 8.g.7, containing 37 four-voice motets, all anonymous; Royal MS 11.e.11, dated 1516; Royal MS Appendix 45-8, containing seven Masses for three voices by Fayrfax's most important contemporary, Ludford (d. 1540),

ninety other active composers who are his immediate predecessors or contemporaries. These composers are listed here alphabetically.

Alen
Alwood
Appleby
Ashwell
Aston

Baldwin
Banaster
Bramston
Bridgman
Browne
Burton

Carver
Catcott
Chamberlayne
Cole
Cook
Cooper
Corbronde
Cornish

Daggere
Dark
Davy
Dendy
Drake
Dygon

Edwards
Erell

Farthing
Fawkyner
Fayrfax
Fissher
Fluyd
Fowler
Frye

Garnesey
Gwynneth

Hacomplaynt
Hampton
Hamshere
Hawkyns
Hawte
Henry VIII
Holyngbourne
Horwood
Huchyns
Hunt
Hygons
Hyllary

Johnson
Jones

Kellyk
Kemp
Knight

Lambe
Ludford
Lovell
Lupus

Martyn
Mason
Merbecke
Mychelson

Nesbet
Newark
Norman
Northbroke

Parker
Pasche
Petyre
Phelyppis
Prentes
Prowett
Pygott

Rasar
Redford
Rysbe

Sampson
Shepparde
Sheryngham
Smert
Squire
Stourton
Sturmes
Stratford
Sutton
Sugar

Taverner
Tuder
Turges (Sturges)
Trentis

van Wilder
Whitbroke
Wilkinson

In what other country could so impressive a number be duplicated? Italy had to import musicians from the Netherlands; native Italian music was just beginning to develop. The same situation held in France, and, to

written, probably, between 1510 and 1515; Royal MS Appendix 58, famous for containing the three keyboard pieces by Hugh Aston, also has about sixty compositions, of which twenty are tenor parts of secular songs, perhaps written before 1500. Davey (*op. cit.*, 1st ed., 1895, pp. 81-91) describes twenty-one MSS of the period.

a lesser degree, in Germany, where Adam von Fulda, Heinrich Finck, Thomas Stoltzer, and Martin Agricola were the only known composers of importance. Spanish music was beginning to develop with Juan del Encina (ca. 1469-1529), but as yet there was no Spanish school. The English composers were practically the *only* composers in Europe except the Flemish. "From Lisbon to Cracow, from Paris to Naples, there were Flemish chapelmasters everywhere. In England alone the native school held its ground, both in performance and composition" [108]. The musical reputation which the English enjoyed abroad was such that in 1471 the Duke of Milan sent his Chapel Master to England to secure singers and instrumentalists [109]. The number of English composers alone would refute the long-current theory that the period following the death of Dunstable in 1453 was one of stagnation or even retrogression. In the light of these composers and the large amount of music they wrote, the following familiar-sounding statement sounds foolish indeed.

> He (Fayrfax) came at a time when music in England had been marking time for some years. John Dunstable had been long dead, and the feeble imitators of his generation were gone the same way. After an interval of apparent silence, we suddenly come across a school of musicians with Robert Fayrfax at its head, which proved itself capable of producing works of extraordinary merit [110].

If all the manuscripts of the period had survided the destruction of church property during the Reformation, the number of known composers might be even larger.

Whereas Fayrfax was the leader of this "school of musicians", (before Taverner), he was not its most prolific composer. In comparison with that of later composers, his total output was relatively small. The exact amount of music that Fayrfax wrote is not known, but it is certain that he composed more than has survived. Six Masses can be definitely attributed to him: *O bone Jesu, Albanus, O quam glorifica, Regali, Tecum principium,* all for five voices and all complete, and *Sponsus amat,* for four voices and incomplete. It has been suggested that the Mass, *O quam suavis,* which dates from about 1500, was written by Fayrfax, but it is fairly certain that Fayrfax could not have written it [111].

Fayrfax wrote two five-voice settings of the Magnificat, to which he gave the titles *O bone Jesu* and *Regali* [112]. He is known to have written at

[108] Davey, *op. cit.,* 103.

[109] Lang, *op. cit.,* 273.

[110] Pulver, *Biographical Dictionary, op. cit.,* 180.

[111] Thurston Dart ascribes the Mass, *O quam suavis,* to Fluyd. His evidence will appear in a book to be published by the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society.

[112] See note 11, Introduction.

least thirteen motets, five of which are incomplete; one, a *Stabat Mater,* which was originally in the Eton MS, is lost, leaving six in a complete state. These are *Aeternae Laudis lilium, Ave Dei Patris filia*[113], *Maria plena virtute, Salve Regina*[114], all for five voices, and *Ave lumen gratiae*[115] and *O lux beata Trinitas*[116], both for four voices. The incomplete motests are *Ave cujus conceptio, Gaude flore virginalis* (named *Regali*), *Lauda vivi Alpha et Omega, O Maria Deo grata* (named *Albanus* in some MSS), ~~*Quid cantemus innocentes,*~~ and *O bone Jesu*[117].

Ten secular part-songs of Fayrfax have survived. Of these, three are incomplete: a fragment with the title, *Welcome fortune,* "said to be at Ely Cathedral but not now to be traced"[118]; and the two bass parts that survive in the *Song Book* of 1530, *My hartes lust,* for three voices, and *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*[119], for four. The seven complete secular pieces are in the *Fayrfax Book* (B.M. Add. 5465): *Alas for lak of her presens; I love, loved, and loved wolde I be; Most clere of colour; Somewhat musyng; Benedicite, what dremyd I; To compleyn me alas,* all for three voices, and *That was my woo,* for two voices. Besides these, there is a three-part canon without text in the *Fayrfax Book,* and in B.M. Add. 31922, another composition without words, entitled, *Paramese Tenor*[120], both probably instrumental works.

This is all of the music of Fayrfax that is known to exist, "a thin harvest for rememberance, but of great historic value"[121]. All of the music exists in manuscript form[122]. Except for the motet, *Aeterne laudis lilium*

[113] The *Ave Dei Patris filia* in the Lambeth MS is anonymous, according to Harrison, the *Eton Choirbook: I,* Musica Britannica X (London, 1956). It is not the same as the *Ave Dei Patris filia* in the other MSS cited by Hughes, *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.,* 95.

[114] The *Salve Regina* in the Lambeth MS is not the same as that in Eton.

[115] The *Ave lumen gratiae* in B.M. Add. 5054 is in score form and in duple time; the original in Eton is in triple time.

[116] See note 15, Introduction.

[117] Only the Medius part of *O bone Jesu* is known to exist. It is in the B.M. Harley MS 1709 at f. 53 (there anonymous) and is "note-for-note identical with the Medius part of the Mass by Fayrfax, which is thus marked out as an early example — perhaps the earliest in England — of the Parodia form." Hughes, *Musica Disciplina, op. cit.,* 99.

[118] *Ibid.,* 96.

[119] Dom Anselm Hughes, "The Works of Robert Fayrfax", *Music and Letters* (London, Vol. XXX, No. 2, April 1949), 118-20. In *Musica Disciplina* (*op. cit.,* 96), Hughes lists *Ut re mi fa sol* la as an instrumental piece in three parts, found in Stafford Smith's *Collection of English Songs* (1779) instead of in the *Song Book* of 1530.

[120] See note one.

[121] William H. Hadow, *English Music,* (New York, 1931), 32.

[122] See note one.

(1502) [123] and the Mass, *O quam glorifica* (1504), and possibly the Masses, *Regali* (1509) and *Sponsus amat* (1510) [124], it is impossible to date the music, for there is slight external evidence, and only little internal evidence as to the chronology of the works.

[123] Stevens, *op. cit.*, 493.
[124] *Ibid.*, 493.

THE ANTHEMS OF THOMAS TOMKINS: AN INTRODUCTION *

LOUIS A. GILL

In the history of English Church Music the first sixty or seventy years of the Seventeenth Century must be regarded primarily as a period of transition. The polyphonic style of anthem had reached its zenith in the compositions of William Byrd and a new form, the verse anthem, was gradually becoming fashionable.

The two outstanding composers at the beginning of this period, apart from Byrd, were Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Tomkins; Gibbons dying in 1625 and Tomkins in 1656. Of Gibbons' forty anthems twenty-five were written in the new form, and Tomkins' output was even larger. Of the 93 anthems published in 'Musica Deo Sacra' no fewer than 41 are verse anthems.

The growth in popularity of the verse anthem during the years around the turn of the century must have been very rapid. It was at all events sufficiently established to encourage composers with a comparatively small output of Church music to attempt compositions in the new form: such a composer, for instance, as John Bull whose main work lay in the field of keyboard music. And almost every Church composer of distinction during the period has left some contribution in this form.

It is a characteristic of the great artist that he appreciates when old forms have reached perfection and new fields must be explored. Gibbons and Tomkins, great composers as they undoubtedly were, were quick to foresee the possibilities of the verse anthem, and, while the majority of their works in this form can be regarded as little more than experimental, it must be appreciated that the seeds sown at this time were to bring forth much fruit in the Restoration Period and later in the works of S. S. Wesley.

When writing in the old polyphonic style Gibbons and Tomkins reach an extremely high standard, for example Tomkins' 'O sing unto the Lord', a seven-part polyphonic anthem. At this late date the procedure for writing an anthem in the old style was clearly defined. That is not to say that the basic pattern remained unaltered throughout, but the fundamental elements — patterns of imitation, treatment of text, modality, and cadential formulae — remained essentially unchanged.

* This study is based on 12 anthems selected for their variety of compositional technique.

The verse anthem brought with it advantages but also many new difficulties. The main advantage was that, whereas in the old style composers had normally been confined to a comparatively short text, usually comprising one or two psalm verses they were now able to use texts of greater length. Several verses of a psalm could be set and knit together to form an anthem. But this in turn meant that a new declamatory style was necessary, particularly in the verse passages, and also a new form with particular emphasis on key schemes was required. In addition to this the art of accompaniment to a vocal line was still at a comparatively elementary stage. These were challenges which the early composers of the verse anthem met with varying degrees of success.

In the matter of writing a declamatory vocal line Morley, Gibbons and Tomkins excelled themselves. The opening passages of Morley's 'Out of the Deep' and Gibbons' 'This is the record of John' are familiar examples and illustrate this point admirably. A glance at Tomkins' 'Out of the Deep' reveals precisely the same mastery. An interesting comparison may be made between Morley's 'Out of the Deep' and Tomkins' setting of the same text. The words 'have I called to thee, O Lord' are set to precisely the same rhythm in both settings — and the phrase 'Lord hear my voice' is actually the same in melodic outline.

In other ways these composers were somewhat restricted by the age in which they lived, notably in the matter of modulation. There are two main factors to be mentioned here: (i) the composers of this period had been schooled in the old modal idea of a centre of gravity to which one always returned after certain permitted cadences — this instinct was too strong to be overcome quickly; (ii) even had they so wished, modulation to a remote key was not possible owing to the fact that mean-tone temperament was the rule. In actual fact equal temperament was unknown in British organs until the middle of the 19th Century, though experiments in equal temperament had been carried out on the virginal by John Bull.

The main criticism of the verse anthems composed during the first half of the 17th Century must be that on the whole the works tend to be too fragmentary. All too often compositions amount to little more than a number of square-cut sections placed side by side to form one anthem, which is quite lacking in any degree of continuity.

The accompaniment was, for the most part, akin to the old vocal style, and there was little feeling for instrumental writing. Even in Gibbons' anthems with strings the string parts are largely vocal in outline.

The problems of form and accompaniment were not fully mastered until considerably later in the Century, and even then it was due largely to composers of instrumental music rather than to church music composers.

By this time keyboard composers had ceased trying to imitate vocal counterpoint and instead fashioned their pieces on dances with clear-cut sections. An important point in the evolution of the form was reached with the accession of Charles II. Tudway recalls: 'His Majesty, who was a brisk and airy Prince, coming to ye Crown in ye flow'r and vigour of his Age, was soon, if I may so say, tyred with ye grave and solemn way, and ordered ye Composers of his Chappell to add Symphonys, etc., with instruments to their Anthems . . . .'

The result was essentially a suite of movements for varying ensembles of solo voices with or without instrumental interludes, often interspersed with choruses and attaining at times the stature of a miniature cantata. In the light of the evolution of musical form during succeeding centuries the verse anthem, even in its perfected form as practised by Purcell, seems to lack any real organic growth. Indeed it is frequently held together more by connecting ideas in the text than by thematic development or any other form of material relationship between the numerous sections.

The verse technique, however, was not confined solely to anthems. Byrd used verse passages with considerable success in his second Service and his example was followed with equal success by Weelkes, Tomkins, Gibbons and Morley. After nearly three centuries Walmisley and S. S. Wesley — pioneers in creating the modern Service — returned to the verse technique, and from their compositions till the present day solo passages have remained a common feature in Service settings.

During the Commonwealth there occurred one particularly noticeable change in the verse anthem. Previously quite a large proportion of verse passages had been written for the Treble voice. Indeed, in the anthems published in 'Musica Deo Sacra' Tomkins seems particularly fond of Treble quality for verse passages. Approximately two thirds of his verse anthems contain passages for Treble Solo and at least fifteen of the forty-one require two Trebles. On the other hand, only in a very few cases are verse passages to be found for the Tenor voice.

Following the Commonwealth there is an almost complete absence of verse passages written for the Treble voice. A variety of 'probable' explanations have been offered, all of which combined would seem to present the true picture.

One of the difficulties was the absence of any tradition among the choir boys — an essential element in a Church choir. In a number of cases where the boys were inadequate for their part, the cornet was used to double the line. (Records show that a cornet was used at Westminster Abbey as late as 1664). But lack of tradition is insufficient as an explanation when one thinks of the Chapel Royal, the real home of the verse anthem. Captain Cooke, Master of the Children, had the power to con-

script the best voices from any Cathedral or church in the country for services at the Chapel. Bearing in mind that as a result he assembled around him what must be regarded as the finest assembly of choirboys of all times, surely amongst these he had at least one solo boy. The style of writing for the men leaves no doubt that their singing was of a very high standard. Their excellence may in some measure account for the 'missing Treble'. Then, too, it is a well known fact that the conservative outlook of the age regarded the introduction of strings into worship as rather secular in effect, and maybe the same attitude prevailed with regard to boy soloists. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that it was several years before a solo boy's part was written and practically the end of the Century before the upper register was brought into use.

Very little time need be spent here in discussing Tomkins' use of the old polyphonic style and the new verse anthem form, since formal analysis will reveal the characteristic features of his style. Generally speaking, it may be assumed that the majority of the composer's anthems written before about 1620 belong to the old style. After this date the proportions were reversed, the verse anthem gaining favour at the expense of the earlier form. (The validity of this statement will be seen more clearly later when discussing the dates when the anthems were composed).

As a writer in the polyphonic style, Tomkins resembles his master and predecessor William Byrd. Each clause of the text is furnished with a melodic outline and this is used in imitation until the composer decides to introduce the next point of imitation employing another clause of the text. The tension of the polyphonic passages is relieved by alternating them with homophonic sections. Usually it is true to say that, when writing in this style, the more parts he employs the greater is his success. (Two excellent examples outside the present selection are worthy of special mention in this connection: they are the ten-part chorus 'Glory to God' from the anthem 'Behold I bring you glad tidings' and the magnificent twelve-part setting of Psalm 117). This is due to the fact that the essence of Tomkins' style is, in one word, contrast. Consequently the more parts there are the greater the variety of tone colour there will be, obtained either by antiphonal writing, or by contrasting upper and lower groups of voices. (Concerning this matter of antiphony it is worth noting that Tomkins obviously had a large number of Contra-tenors in his choir. In the anthem 'O Lord, thou hast dealt graciously' the score includes first and second Contra-tenor, which parts are further sub-divided into Decani and Cantoris, making four parts in all. In addition several of the verse anthems include passages for two Contra-tenor soloists).

The verse anthems in the present selection illustrate the failings generally met with in the early experimental works in this form — namely lack of

any real modulation except to closely related keys and even then the modulation is usually temporary. In every case the anthem viewed as a whole tends to be too sectional (many of the individual sections, however, are superbly written in themselves, e.g. the opening of 'Out of the deep' and the triple-time section of 'Christ rising').

The question as to whether any of Tomkins' verse anthems were originally written with string accompaniment is an interesting one. Unfortunately no original manuscript of any of Tomkins' church music has survived, so far as is known, but a number of factors would seem to suggest that at least some of the verse anthems were probably provided with string accompaniment in performance. It is not possible to decide from the accompaniments given since the string parts in the anthems of Gibbons were still very largely replicas of vocal counterpoint with very little external evidence to suggest that they were written specifically for the medium of strings. But, bearing in mind that Tomkins had the precedent of Gibbons and Byrd before him — Byrd's anthem 'Have mercy upon me, O God', belonging to his 1611 set, is a verse anthem accompanied by a quartet of viols — and, what is even more important, that Tomkins did actually produce a number of compositions for string combinations, it seems probable that at least a few of these verse anthems would receive string accompaniment at the time. Furthermore, their inclusion in various manuscripts giving proof of their popularity later in the century at the Chapel Royal suggests that, even if they were originally conceived with organ accompaniment, the accompaniment would have been transcribed for strings there.

Contrast, it has already been noted, is the essence of Tomkins' style. In considering the composer's technique in the course of the next few paragraphs the importance of this element will become apparent.

Probably the quality of which we are most conscious in a first acquaintance with Tomkins' anthem-writing is his appreciation of the qualities and capabilities of the human voice. This is true whether considering a solo passage, an individual line, or the overall effect of an anthem for full choir. Tomkins was acutely sensitive to the tone qualities of the various voices. This is illustrated in a variety of ways, but perhaps best of all by the way in which he adds individual voice parts, as if adding layer upon layer. Excellent examples of this are to be found in 'Out of the deep' (bars 17-18), 'Arise O Lord God' (bars 63-70) and in numerous other places scattered throughout the anthems. In those passages where the lower parts enter first, the final entry of the Treble is delightful. A similar device is used in 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?' (bars 35-40). This anthem also illustrates a device to be found in several of these anthems, namely

introducing two voices at a time (bars 40-45). Here the parts enter in thirds, but in 'Almighty and everlasting God' the parts enter in contrary motion (bars 39-42).

Antiphony too is of considerable importance in these anthems. One of the best examples of this is to be found in 'God which as upon this day' (bars 57-67). Another fine example appears in 'O Lord thou hast dealt graciously' (86-96). The Contra-tenor is subdivided into four parts.

But contrast of Decani and Cantoris is only one device among many for throwing into relief different combinations of voices. In 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?', for instance, the opening eight bars contrast with bar 9; and again in 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor' (bars 65-75) the upper and lower voices are contrasted. Use of pitch contrasts was an important element in Tomkins' technique, and is probably most noticeable in the verse passages, e.g. 'God which as upon this day' (bars 39-49). Other important examples of tone contrast are to be seen in 'God which as upon this day' (bars 21-26) and 'O Lord, thou hast dealt graciously' (bars 37-56) in which homophonic passages for solo voices are contrasted with the full chorus. In this field Tomkins' was one of the pioneers, though examples of solo voices used in duets, trios and quartets are to be found in Morley's first Service.

In the polyphonic style of anthem the alternation of homophonic and imitative sections is of fundamental importance, and examples of this are to be found in every anthem in this form in the present selection. Worthy of special mention however is 'O sing unto the Lord', bar 22, where the homophonic passage 'Let the congregation' commences after the opening polyphonic section.

One other feature of the polyphonic anthems is worthy of note: that is the manner in which the great sonority of the various climaxes is thrown into relief by the thinner scoring of the surrounding bars. A typical example of this is to be found in 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?'. Following the climax ending at bar 40 the texture is immediately reduced to three parts.

Having considered the general effect produced by voices in combination it is interesting to make closer examination of individual lines. One notable feature is an almost complete absence of difficult intervals. There is a fair sprinkling of diminished fourths, both ascending and descending, but by this time the interval had become a characteristic of the polyphonic style and produced no difficulty. In 'Why art thou so full of heaviness' Tomkins uses both major (bars 26-27) and minor 6th (bar 30) ascending, neither interval being particularly common at that time. In the anthem 'Arise O Lord God' (bar 73) there is a leap of an ascending minor 9th for the Bass, but since the upper note is the commencement of a new phrase this presents no difficulty. The Contra-tenor part in 'Who shall

ascend the hill of God?' at bar 33 appears to be a little angular for the period, but in point of fact it amounts to nothing more than an ornamented version of the Bass figure in the previous bar.

The range of the individual lines is conservative throughout, very little use being made of the extreme bounds, though, as usual, the wider range of the Contra-tenor compared with the modern Alto creates a certain amount of difficulty in present-day renderings of these works. Tenor and Alto lines are however often interchangeable at such points.

Tomkins' vocal lines move smoothly and easily, and there is a good deal of crossing. Bar 22 of 'Lord enter not into judgement' may be quoted as an example. On the second beat of this bar the second Contra-tenor is actually singing below the Bass.

A comparison may be made at this point between the melodic line of the old style anthem and that of the new. In the polyphonic anthem the first essential was that the melodic phrase should be capable of imitation. The opening bars of these anthems usually indicate that the shape of the phrase is very closely related to the text, particularly with regard to the natural rhythm of the words. But the further one progresses away from the opening entries the weaker this relationship becomes. This point may be illustrated from the middle section of 'He that hath pity' (bars 39-53). The composer's attention here is obviously directed more towards the counterpoint than it is towards preserving his original rhythm for the text. The word 'heaped' is set to (a) two crotchets, (b) a dotted minim and a crotchet, (c) two minims, and (d) a crotchet and two quavers. Nevertheless, in spite of rhythmic modifications and melodic extensions of the original phrase, the basic outline is, broadly speaking, preserved throughout the section. It will generally be noted that the vicissitudes of the original phrase involve all manner of verbal repetitions.

In general the outline of the melodies Tomkins uses in imitation may be likened to a wave: the phrase rises to a crest and then subsides. The opening phrase of 'Almighty and everlasting God' is just one example, but it is typical of the many others recurring throughout the anthems. Sometimes an inversion of this outline is used for imitation, e.g. 'Arise O Lord God' (bars 63-80).

In the verse anthem the emphasis is placed on declamation and verbal accentuation rather than on imitation. The result is a closer relationship between text and melodic outline. This point is illustrated in the opening phrase of 'Christ rising again from the dead'. The rhythmic quantities of the text are preserved in the note values and at the same time the melody portrays the 'rising', and at the words 'the dead' plunges down a fifth. 'Cometh the resurrection of the dead' (bars 97-104) is another example in the same anthem illustrating these points.

The element of rhythm is of supreme importance in Tomkins' writing, whether considered with regard to the details of wordsetting or viewed from a panoramic aspect. The first point has already been considered in some measure in preceding paragraphs. In connection with the latter, contrast is again an important element.

Tomkins realised that rhythmic variety was as essential in the composition of an anthem as was the alternation of homophonic and polyphonic passages in the Tudor style. An obvious example is the section in 'Christ rising from the dead', written in triple time (bars 58-90). But frequently his rhythmic changes are far more subtle as, for example, in 'O sing unto the Lord' (bars 25-33), where the rhythm suddenly becomes syncopated. There are numerous similar examples scattered throughout the anthems. In the anthem 'O Lord thou hast dealt graciously' he interposes three bars (bars 90-92) in complete rhythmic contrast to the vigour of the surrounding bars.

Reference to Tomkins' use of syncopation has been made: another device, akin to this, is the use of one syncopated part against the remaining parts. This characteristic is found particularly in the accompaniments of the verse anthems where it is employed to maintain the movement (e.g. 'O Lord thou hast dealt graciously', bars 14-18; 'Christ rising again' bars 28-29). The use of syncopated entries in voice parts is perhaps best seen in the 'Alleluia' section of 'O sing unto the Lord' (bars 61-76).

Flexibility of rhythm is an important element in the works of all the composers belonging to the Golden Age of English Church Music. The subtlety of their rhythmic changes was aided to a considerable degree by the absence of bar lines in the part-books. As a result no false accents were implied, and in the hands of intelligent singers selecting the words and syllables requiring natural accentuation, the vocal works of this period must have sounded exceedingly beautiful. (This subject is considered again later in the paragraph discussing the barring of the selected anthems).

One further point is worth mentioning with regard to Tomkins' rhythmic devices. It is a well-known characteristic of the English Madrigal School that at the mention of the word 'dance' they immediately break into triple time. Obviously this type of rhythmic change is reduced to a minimum in Church music but there are a number of exceptions, as in 'Christ rising again' where the joy of the Christian on Easter Day is portrayed in triple time. 'Praise' in the anthems of this period is almost invariably expressed in quavers, as in 'O Lord thou hast dealt graciously' (bars 86-90). Of greater significance, however, is the change brought about by the augmentation or diminution of a rhythmic pattern. A particularly fine example of this type of change is to be found in the anthem 'Who shall ascend the hill of God' (bars 20-35). The change at bar 32 is wonder-

fully powerful in creating a feeling of breadth.

The comparatively limited scope of Tomkins' key schemes and modulations has been noted earlier, but of fundamental importance within this framework is the juxtaposition of major and minor triads. The alternation of major and minor thirds between the end of one section and the beginning of another, and even at times, within the section itself, was a convention of the period and examples of this are to be found in almost all of the present selections. Tomkins, however, was by nature a progressive composer and this aspect of his genius is revealed as much in his harmonic developments as in his acceptance of and perseverance in the new verse anthem form. For him the alternation of the major and minor third was but the foundation for more revolutionary tonal contrasts. A few examples illustrate this point more clearly, as for instance bars 10-12 of 'Christ rising again', where, following a cadence in G major, the chorus enters with the E flat major triad. The result is produced solely by the fact that the two contrasting triads are placed side by side but in no way implies a modulation. This kind of juxtaposition of triads is a common feature in the verse anthems particularly.

The increasing feeling towards modern tonality is indicated by the composer's use of a dominant pedal. An excellent example of this is to be seen in 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?', bars 36-40.

A characteristic of the Tudor School was the use of the major third in the ascending scale and the minor third in the descending scale, known as the 'terminus acutus' and the 'terminus gravis'. Frequently the major and minor third were brought into conflict in the same chord producing so-called 'false relation'. There are many examples of this in Tomkins' anthems written in the old style, (e.g. 'Almighty and everlasting God', 'Lord, enter not into judgement' and 'O sing unto the Lord'). Examples of 'false relation' are not confined to the voice parts. They occur from time to time between a vocal line and the accompaniment, as in 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?' (bars 10 and 17).

Another interesting feature of Tomkins' style, produced as the result of the part-writing, is the composer's use of appoggiaturas, as in 'Almighty and everlasting God' (Treble, bar 16, first beat), and accented passing-notes, as in 'Arise, O Lord God' (Bass, bar 35, fourth beat).

On the subject of 'consecutives' Tomkins appears to have had no regard for rules. Consecutive fifths and octaves were of course quite common features in the Tudor School and there are numerous examples to be found in the works of Byrd, (e.g. the consecutive fifths in 'Ave Verum Corpus' between Alto and Bass at the words 'miserere mei'. This is followed almost immediately with consecutive octaves between the same two parts). A typical example of Tomkins' use of consecutive fifths is to be seen in

'Christ rising again' (bars 29 and 100), and of consecutive octaves in 'Arise, O Lord God' (bar 24 between first Tenor and Bass), and of consecutive unisons in 'Lord enter not into judgement' (bar 55 between first and second Contra-tenor). But Tomkins goes a step further than this. In 'He that hath pity' he writes consecutive augmented fourths (bar 28 between Treble and Contra-tenor) and in 'God who as upon this day' consecutive sevenths (bars 41 and 45). The latter two examples are admittedly the result of ornamentation, but they are nevertheless unusual.

The increasing freedom of the age in which Tomkins was living is to be seen in his attitude towards chords usually associated with emotions or feelings. A typical example is the chord of the major third and minor sixth, used particularly by the Madrigalists to give poignancy. Tomkins' use of this chord in the anthems is comparatively rare, but it is worth noting that the earlier associations of the chord are being broken down. The composer uses the chord because he feels that it is the chord he wants at that particular point, not because the words demand it (e.g. 'Christ rising again', bar 14, and also 'He that hath pity', bar 28). Examples of the old use of the chord do occur however, as in 'Arise, O Lord God' (bar 17), where it is used to portray the 'deep sighing of the poor'. Another feature of the past age is the free resolution of the seventh (e.g. 'Arise, O Lord God', bar 33). The leap from the seventh is brought about by the omission of a passing-note. Although this device is used earlier, notably in Byrd and Gibbons, it appears nowhere with the same consistency and regularity as in the works of Tomkins.

Two other chords are worthy of special mention in considering Tomkins' harmonic freedom: they are the diminished 5th, root position, and the chord of the seventh. The former appears quite regularly in the verse anthems without preparation (a further indication that these anthems were written in the latter part of the composer's life): examples are to be found in 'Christ rising again', bars 59 and 65 and elsewhere. In earlier composers the occurrence of the chord of the seventh is usually the result of parts moving in contrary motion, or else the seventh is prepared as a consonant note in one chord, suspended, and then resolved in the approved manner. Tomkins' use of the chord is, however, rather different. This may be illustrated by two examples. The first example is to be seen in 'O Lord thou hast dealt graciously' (bar 97), where the second Contra-tenor part moves up by step to the seventh and then returns. In the second example, 'Christ rising again' (bar 103), the seventh is approached by leap and furthermore the leap is from outside the interval.

One further aspect of Tomkins' style and technique is to be considered, namely word-setting.

Bearing in mind that Tomkins belonged to the English Madrigal

School, there is perhaps less pictorialism in his word-setting than one might expect. Obvious examples spring to mind, some of which have already been quoted (e.g. 'Christ rising again', 'cometh the resurrection of the dead', 'heaped up and pressed down'). In general, however, in the anthems Tomkins seems more directly concerned with expressing the internal rather than the external meaning. This point is intimately connected with the element of rhythm already discussed. The triple-time section of 'Christ rising again' is a typical example, as also the jubilant passage 'I will sing of thy praise' in the anthem 'O Lord thou hast dealt graciously'. In the anthem 'Out of the deep' the choral passage 'Lord hear my voice' is intensified by the entries of the upper parts, and the whole is consummated by the impassioned and pleading entry of the Trebles. This broader aspect of Tomkins' word-setting is further illustrated in the rising sequences in 'Arise, O Lord God' (bars 20-25), and again in 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?' (bars 35-40, and 51-56).

One characteristic of Tomkins' word-setting which must be mentioned is his rather irritating habit of repeating the last few words of a phrase. Examples are far too numerous to demand detailed illustration. This mannerism is present, though not so noticeably, in the Madrigals. The form and style of the madrigal lent itself quite naturally to verbal repetition, as in the composer's four-part madrigal 'Oyez! Has any found a lad' ('With Bow and Arrows, with Bow and Arrows, with Bow and Arrows tainted, Bow and Arrows tainted'), where it is by no means objectionable. On the other hand, in the anthem 'He that hath pity upon the poor' the composer has eleven bars of five part imitative counterpoint set to the words 'So be it'!

The present group of anthems has been selected from 'Musica Deo Sacra', published twelve years after the composer's death. 'Musica Deo Sacra' is in many ways a work of considerable historical significance. The only printed collection of purely Anglican Services and Anthems appearing before this date (1668) was Barnard's 'Church Music', published in 1641. No previous printed volume of the works of one Anglican composer is known. Publications after 1668 include Croft's 'Musica Sacra' (1724), Greene's Anthems (1743) and Boyce's collections (1780 and 1790).

The full title of the Tomkins publication is 'Musica Deo Sacra Ecclesiae Anglicanae: or Musick dedicated to the Honor and Service of God, and to the Use of Cathedral and other Churches of England'. (Atkins suggests that Nathaniel Tomkins, the son of the composer, was probably the editor of this publication. The suggestion is based on the fact that the Worcester Cathedral Library contains another manuscript of an anthem undoubtedly by Thomas Tomkins, 'Set up thyself, O God, above the

heavens', but copied in the hand of Nathaniel Tomkins. The anthem, the first page of which is missing, is in six parts written in score, the bar-lines having been ruled beforehand, and from the nature of the mistakes it appears probable that it was scored from parts). The work contains five volumes in all — Medius, Contra-tenor, Tenor, Bassus and Pars Organica — each volume being supplemented by a table of amendments.

The actual printing of the work itself has many interesting features about it. Where for instance an anthem is written for Medius Primus and Medius Secundus the parts are written on opposite pages, thus enabling two singers to sing from the same book; furthermore, the parts are carefully arranged so that both parts arrive at the turn over at the same time. This applies to the others as well as to the Medius part-book.

Another important feature of this publication is the underlaying of the text. The underlaying was probably done by Thomas Tomkins. He was one of the first composers to use slurs to indicate the number of notes to be sung to a syllable. In this field the 1622 publication of the composer's 'songs' has been of immense value to scholars. Unfortunately, the underlaying in 'Musica Deo Sacra' is at times so strange and awkward that it is difficult to believe that either Thomas or Nathaniel was responsible. It seems probable that Thomas did indicate the underlaying in the original and that it was copied by Nathaniel. It is common knowledge, however, that once in the hands of the printer manuscripts were frequently adapted (in matters of this nature) to meet the printer's convenience. In all probability the underlaying as it appears in the published edition is at least twice removed from the original, thus widening the possible margin of error.

The Pars Organica book is of particular significance. Frequently, when the full number of voices are singing, the accompaniment is reduced to a bare outline. At other times the accompaniment is quite fully scored and enables corrections of the voice parts to be made from the organ score. One important fact to be gained from a study of the organ book is that this is not merely a Choirmaster's or Precentor's score indicating the entries of the various parts. It has long been debated whether organ accompaniments were used during the polyphonic period. In Tomkins' case there can be no doubt. It is true that his accompaniments, for the most part, are the vocal lines reduced to short score, but there are also abundant examples of independent lines added in the accompaniment, and passages where the vocal lines have been rearranged to lie more easily under the accompanist's hands. A typical example of an added independent part is to be found in the anthem 'Who shall ascend the hill of God?' (bar 35). The second point is well illustrated in 'Lord enter not into judgement' (bars 21-22).

Some of the errors in the printed edition would undoubtedly lead to

disaster. One of the most common faults is to be found at the beginning of several of the verse anthems where the values of the rests are most inaccurate. In other places several beats are omitted from the organ part and in some cases 6-beat bars are badly printed and appear to have only 4 beats. There are other instances where parts have too many beats and an equal number of places where beats are omitted. Generally speaking, in this publication there are many omissions but comparatively few misprints.

'Musica Deo Sacra' comprises in all 5 services, opening Preces, two psalms in chant-form, four tunes for metrical versions of the psalms, anthems for the Burial Service, and also 93 other anthems: nineteen for 3 voices, six for men's voices in 4 parts, twenty-seven full anthems, and forty-one 'Songs to the organ', or Verse Anthems.

In very many cases the texts have been selected from the Psalms. Other sources are the Prophets of the Old Testament, Collects and Prayers from the Book of Common Prayer, and various passages from the New Testament, notably passages from the Gospels relating to Saints' Days and Sundays in the Church year.

There is much speculation among scholars regarding the periods during which the various forms of the Bible were in use. During the hundred years from 1539-1639 there were at least four versions of the Bible in circulation, namely the 'Great Bible', the 'Bishops Bible', the 'Genevan Bible' and the Authorized Version. The familiar version of the Psalms, still retained in the Prayer Book, was taken from the 'Great Bible', but it seems likely that the majority of Tomkins' Biblical texts were taken from the 'Genevan Bible'.

The sources of Tomkins' texts in the selected anthems are given below.

Almighty and everlasting God.

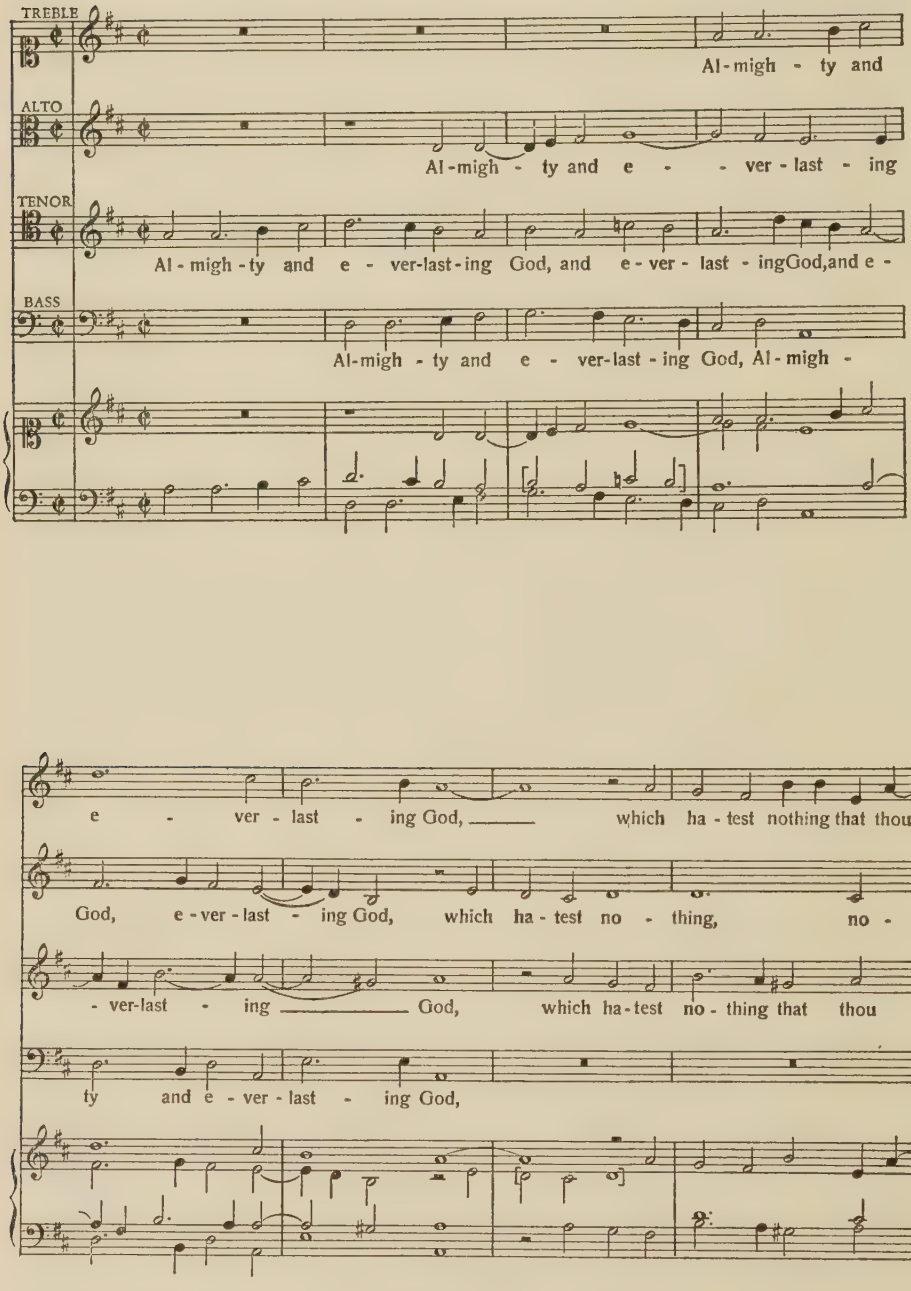
This is a setting of the Collect for Ash Wednesday as it appears in the 1549 Prayer Book. There were minor alterations in the 1662 Prayer Book.

Lord, enter not into judgement.

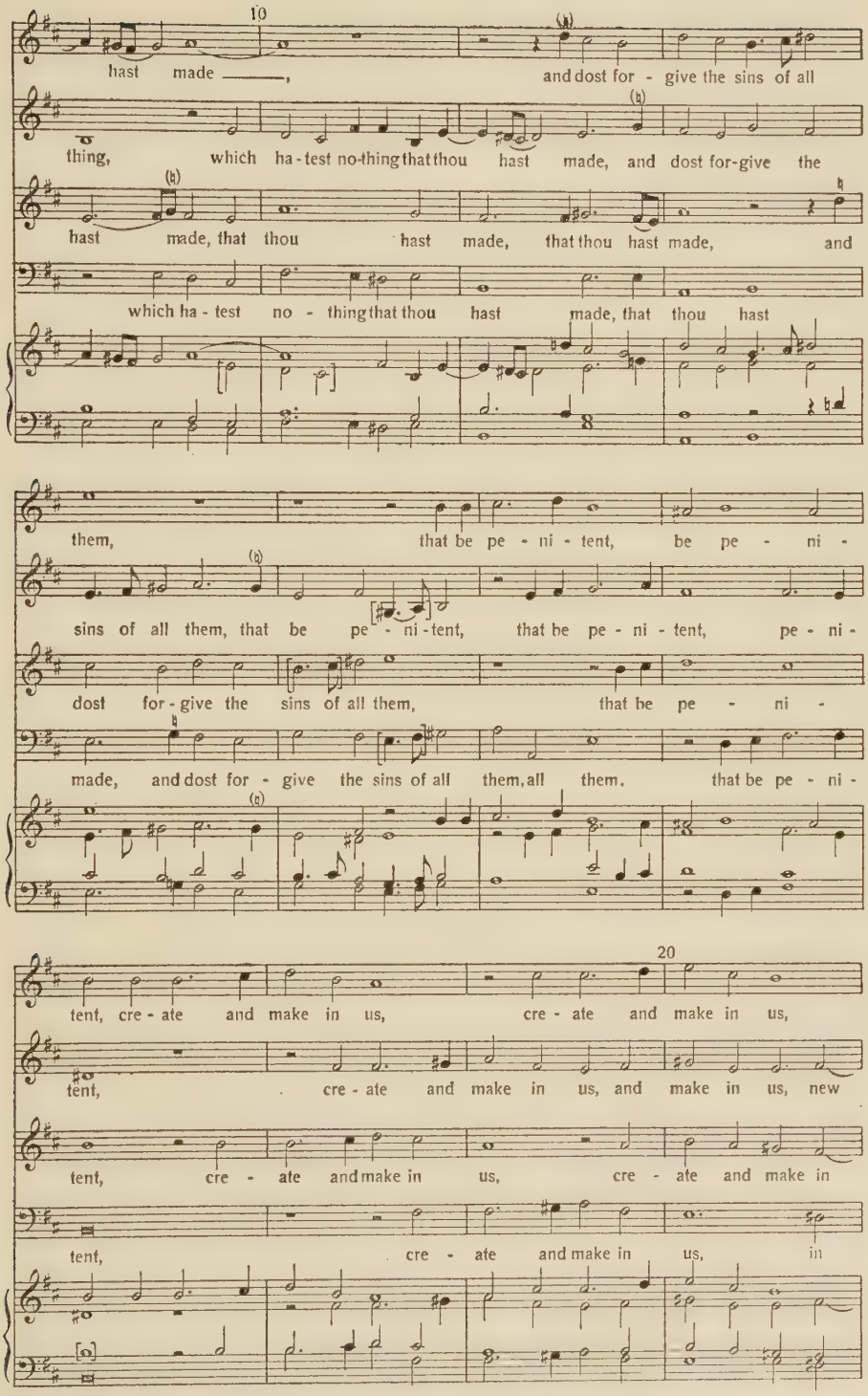
The text is taken from Psalm 143, verse 2. The Latin text is that of Psalm 115, 'Non Nobis Domine'. (Two of the present anthems are given with Latin texts in addition to the English, the other anthem being 'Why art thou so full of heaviness O my Soul?'. In both cases it appears that the Latin text was a later addition. The reason for this leaves room for speculation. A possible explanation is that they were both early works and that the Latin texts have been added as a gesture to William Byrd, whose Latin motets must have been familiar to Tomkins).

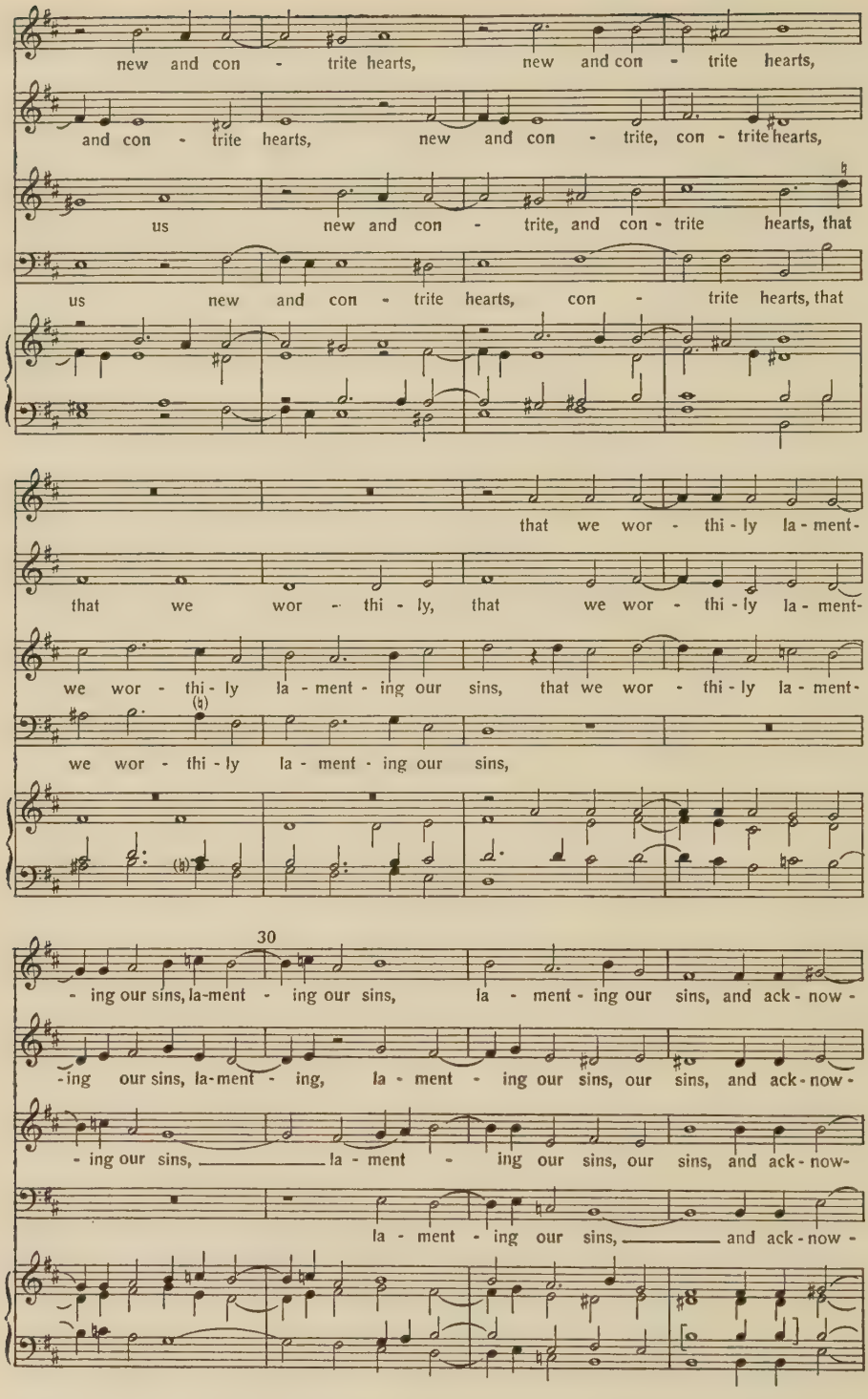
Almighty and Everlasting God

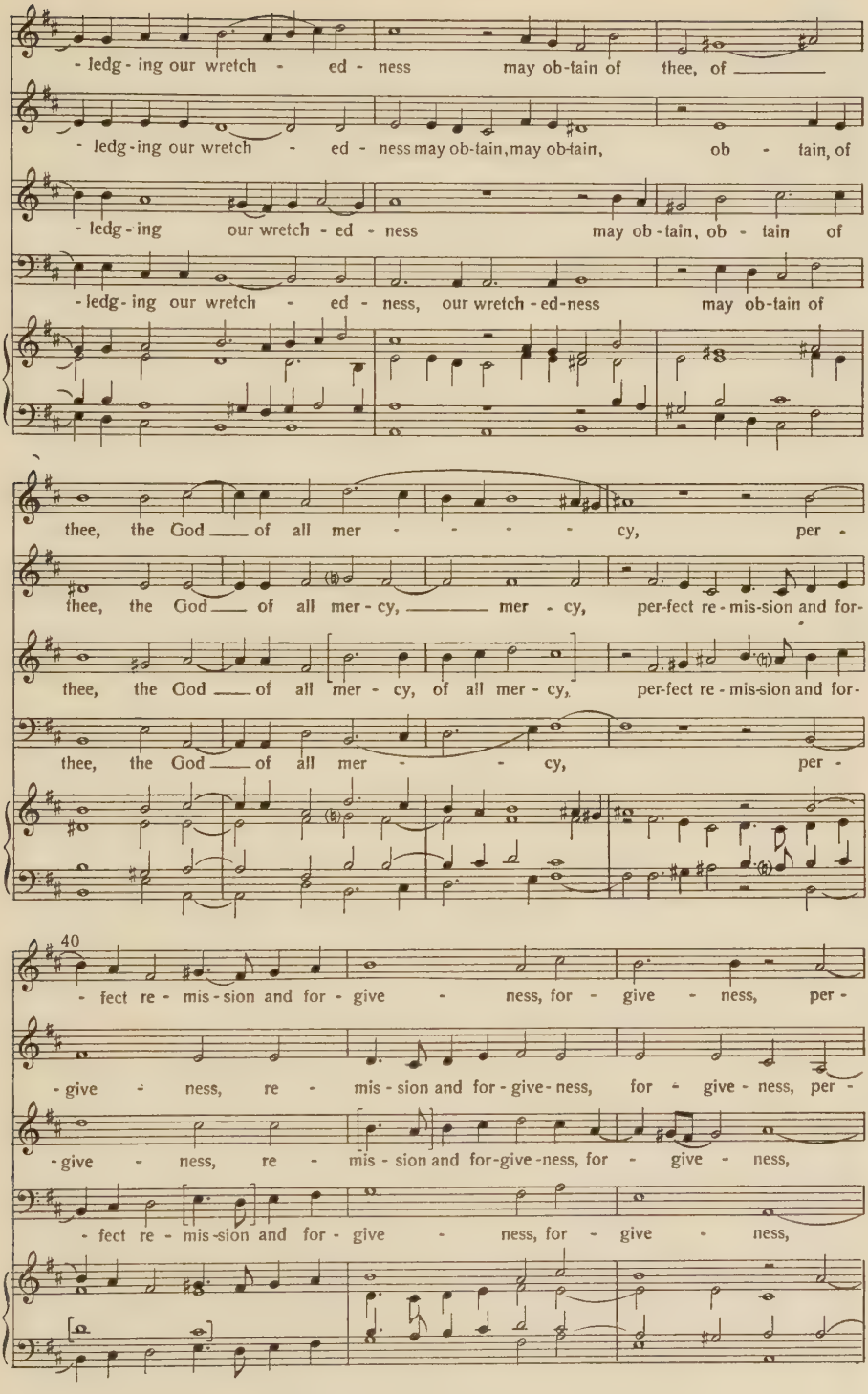
THOMAS TOMKINS

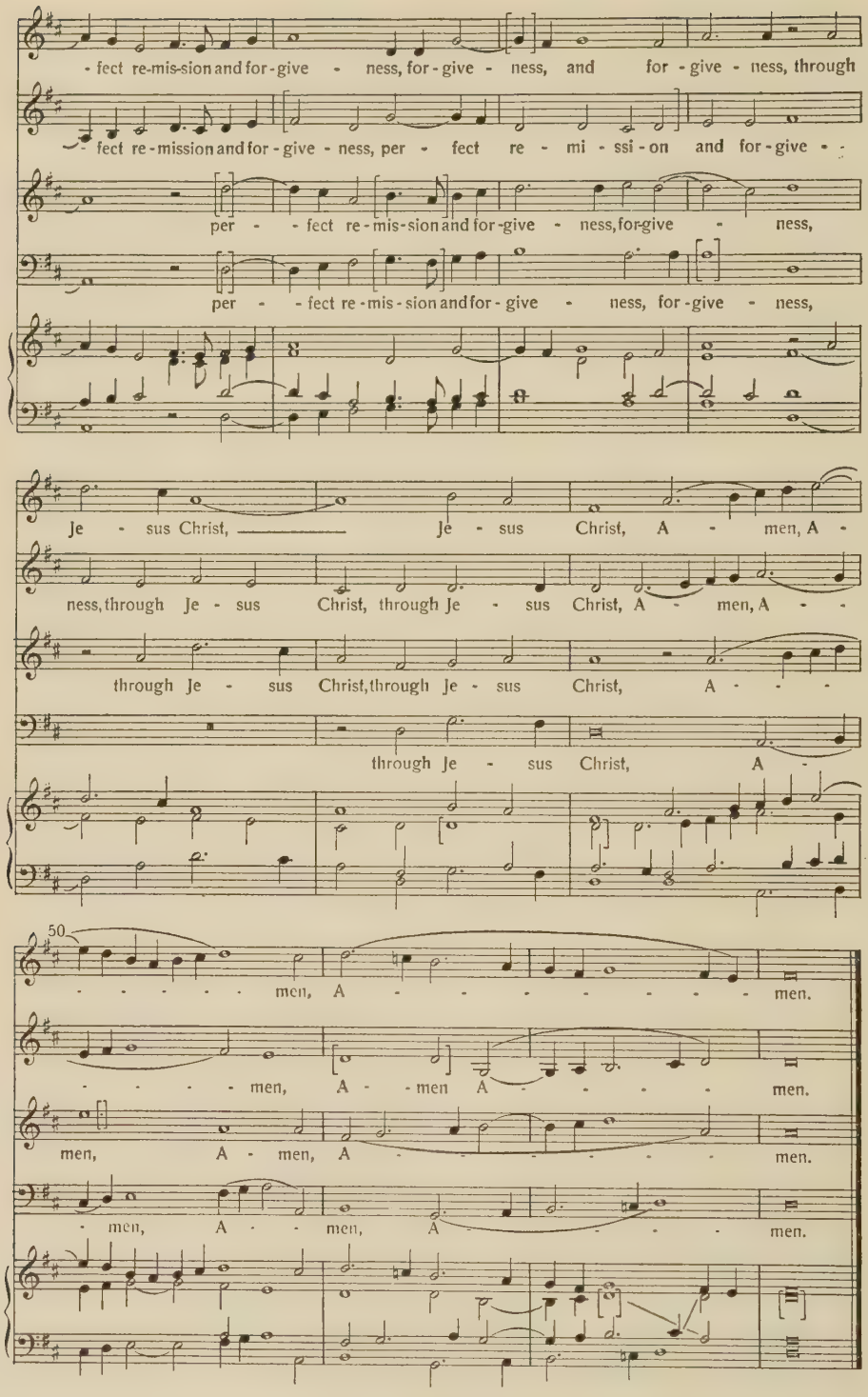

TREBLE
Al-migh - ty and
ALTO
Al-migh - ty and e - - ver - last - ing
TENOR
Al - migh - ty and e - ver-last-ing God, and e-ver - last - ingGod,and e -
BASS
Al-migh - ty and e - ver-last - ing God, Al - migh -
e - ver - last - ing God, which ha - test nothing that thou
God, e - ver - last - ing God, which ha - test no - thing, no -
- ver-last - ing God, which ha-test no - thing that thou
ty and e - ver - last - ing God,

Original one tone lower


10
hast made ——, and dost for - give the sins of all
thing, which ha - test no-thing that thou hast made, and dost for-give the
hast made, that thou hast made, that thou hast made, and
which ha - test no - thing that thou hast made, that thou hast
them, that be pe - ni - tent, be pe - ni -
sins of all them, that be pe - ni - tent, that be pe - ni - tent, pe - ni -
dost for - give the sins of all them, that be pe - ni -
made, and dost for - give the sins of all them, all them, that be pe - ni -
20
tent, cre - ate and make in us, cre - ate and make in us,
tent, cre - ate and make in us, and make in us, new
tent, cre - ate and make in us, cre - ate and make in
tent, cre - ate and make in us, in


new and con - trite hearts, new and con - trite hearts,
and con - trite hearts, new and con - trite, con - trite hearts,
us new and con - trite, and con - trite hearts, that
us new and con - trite hearts, con - trite hearts, that
that we wor - thi - ly la - ment-
that we wor - thi - ly, that we wor - thi - ly la - ment-
we wor - thi - ly la - ment - ing our sins, that we wor - thi - ly la - ment-
we wor - thi - ly la - ment - ing our sins,
30
- ing our sins, la-ment - ing our sins, la - ment - ing our sins, and ack - now -
- ing our sins, la-ment - ing, la - ment - ing our sins, our sins, and ack - now -
- ing our sins, la - ment - ing our sins, our sins, and ack - now-
la - ment - ing our sins, and ack - now -


- ledg - ing our wretch - ed - ness may ob-tain of thee, of
- ledg - ing our wretch - ed - ness may ob-tain, may ob-tain, ob - tain, of
- ledg - ing our wretch - ed - ness may ob - tain, ob - tain of
- ledg - ing our wretch - ed - ness, our wretch - ed-ness may ob-tain of
thee, the God of all mer - - - - cy, per -
thee, the God of all mer - cy, mer - cy, per-fect re - mis-sion and for-
thee, the God of all mer - cy, of all mer - cy, per-fect re - mis-sion and for-
thee, the God of all mer - cy, per -
40
- fect re - mis - sion and for - give - ness, for - give - ness, per -
- give - ness, re - mis - sion and for - give - ness, for - give - ness, per -
- give - ness, re - mis - sion and for-give - ness, for - give - ness,
- fect re - mis - sion and for - give - ness, for - give - ness,


- fect re-mis-sion and for-give - ness, for-give - ness, and for-give - ness, through
- fect re-mission and for-give - ness, per - fect re - mi - ssi-on and for-give -
per - - fect re-mis-sion and for-give - ness, for-give - ness,
per - - fect re-mis-sion and for-give - ness, for-give - ness,
Je - sus Christ, Je - sus Christ, A - men, A -
ness, through Je - sus Christ, through Je - sus Christ, A - men, A - -
through Je - sus Christ, through Je - sus Christ, A - - -
through Je - sus Christ, A -
50
- - - - - men, A - - - - - - - men.
- - - - men, A - - men A - - - - men.
men, A - men, A - - - - - men.
- men, A - - men, A - - - - men.

Who shall ascend the hill of God?

The musical text of this anthem is almost identical with that of the madrigal 'When I observe those beauty's wonderments' in the 1622 'Songs'. There can be little doubt that that madrigal represents the original version. The Biblical text of the anthem now becomes a free transcription of Psalm 24, verses 3, 4 and 5.

The composer's treatment of verse 5 is worthy of particular mention. The Prayer Book version of this verse reads: 'He shall receive the blessing from the Lord and righteousness from the God of his salvation'.

The second part is musically a repetition of the latter half of the first, thus giving balance to the form, and providing a magnificent climax to the anthem.

Arise, O Lord God.

The text of this anthem is in the form of a Prayer, but there is no trace of it in the 1549 Prayer Book. It is an unusually long text for an anthem in the polyphonic style.

He that hath pity upon the poor.

The text (Proverbs Chapter 19, verse 17) is probably taken from the 'Genevan Bible'.

O sing unto the Lord a new song.

Taken from Psalm 149, verses 1 and 2, with slight adaptations of the original text i.e.,

verse 1. 'Let the congregation of saints sing praises unto him'
instead of
'Let the congregation of saints praise him'.

verse 2. 'and let the children of Sion forever sing Alleluia'
instead of
'and let the children of Sion be joyful in their King'.

Why art thou so full of heaviness.

Taken from Psalm 42, verses 6 and 7. There is a confusion here between 'health' in the Medius and Contra-tenor parts and 'help' in the Medius Secundus, Tenor and Bassus parts. This has probably arisen due to the editor referring to the Prayer Book text. Tomkins' version is a transcription of the Prayer Book version as shown below:

'for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his countenance' >

'for I will yet give him thanks which is the health of my countenance'.

The second version, the version used by Tomkins, suggests that 'health' is the correct reading. This is the second of the two anthems with an ad-

ditional Latin text. Again there can be little doubt that the Latin text was a later addition. It is omitted altogether from the Tenor part.

Blessed is he that considereth the poor.

This anthem has two texts in the part-books. The present text occurs only in the Bassus and Contra-tenor parts, the other three parts having the text quoted below. In the Medius Primus part-book at Tenbury, however, the following note has been added: 'Correct yis ditty according to ye base and contra-tenor. Ps. 41'.

The alternative text is in the form of a Prayer:

'O Lord, graciously accept these alms which for thy name's sake we have given as a sweet sacrifice wherein thou art well pleased; so shall the treasures of the rich praise thee O Lord, and the Souls of the poor and needy always give thanks unto thee: and we thy people sing unto thy name, Alleluia, All glory and honour be unto our God for ever. Amen'.

A close examination of the two texts together with the music suggests that the second text ('O Lord, graciously accept these alms') was the one in the composer's mind when the anthem was written. The changing attitudes within the structure seem much more akin to this text, notably the Alleluias which now become 'make thou all his bed'. Similarly, the figure 'when he lieth sick' is much better suited to the alternative text at this point, namely 'sing unto thy name'.

Out of the deep.

Taken from the Burial Service, this anthem is a setting of verses 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Psalm 130. The word 'shouldst' in bar 37 appears in neither the 1549 nor 1662 editions of the Prayer Book. The correct reading is 'wilt'.

God which as upon this day.

This anthem is a setting of the Collect for Whit-Sunday. An interesting example of editing prior to the 1668 publication is to be found in the opening verse passage. The text in the Contra-tenor part-book has been altered to conform with the 1662 Prayer Book, whilst the Medius part retains the 1549 text. The two versions are indicated below.

1549: 'God which as upon this day hast taught the hearts of thy faithful people . . . .'

1662: 'God who as at this time didst teach the hearts of thy faithful people . . . .'

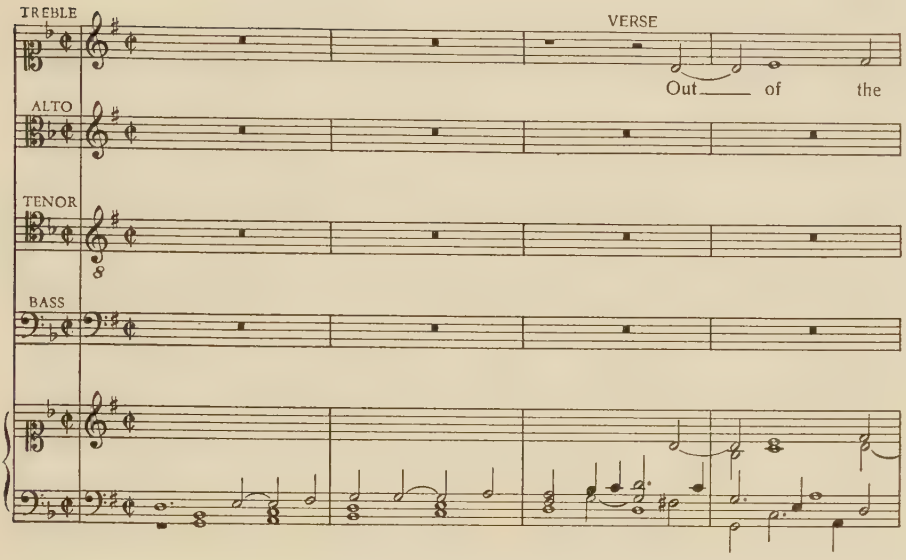
O Lord thou hast dealt graciously.

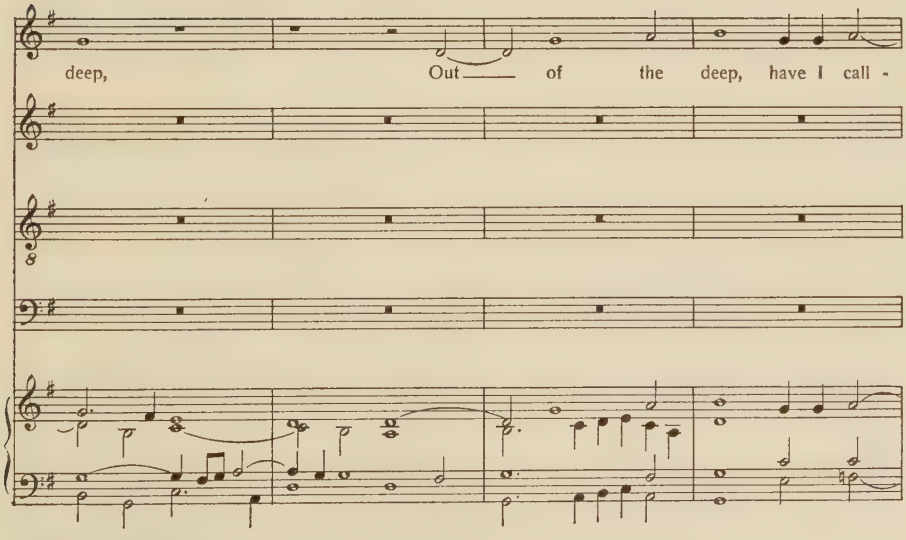
The text of this anthem is stated as being taken from Psalm 119 part 9. A closer examination, however, reveals that only one verse is taken from

Out of the Deep

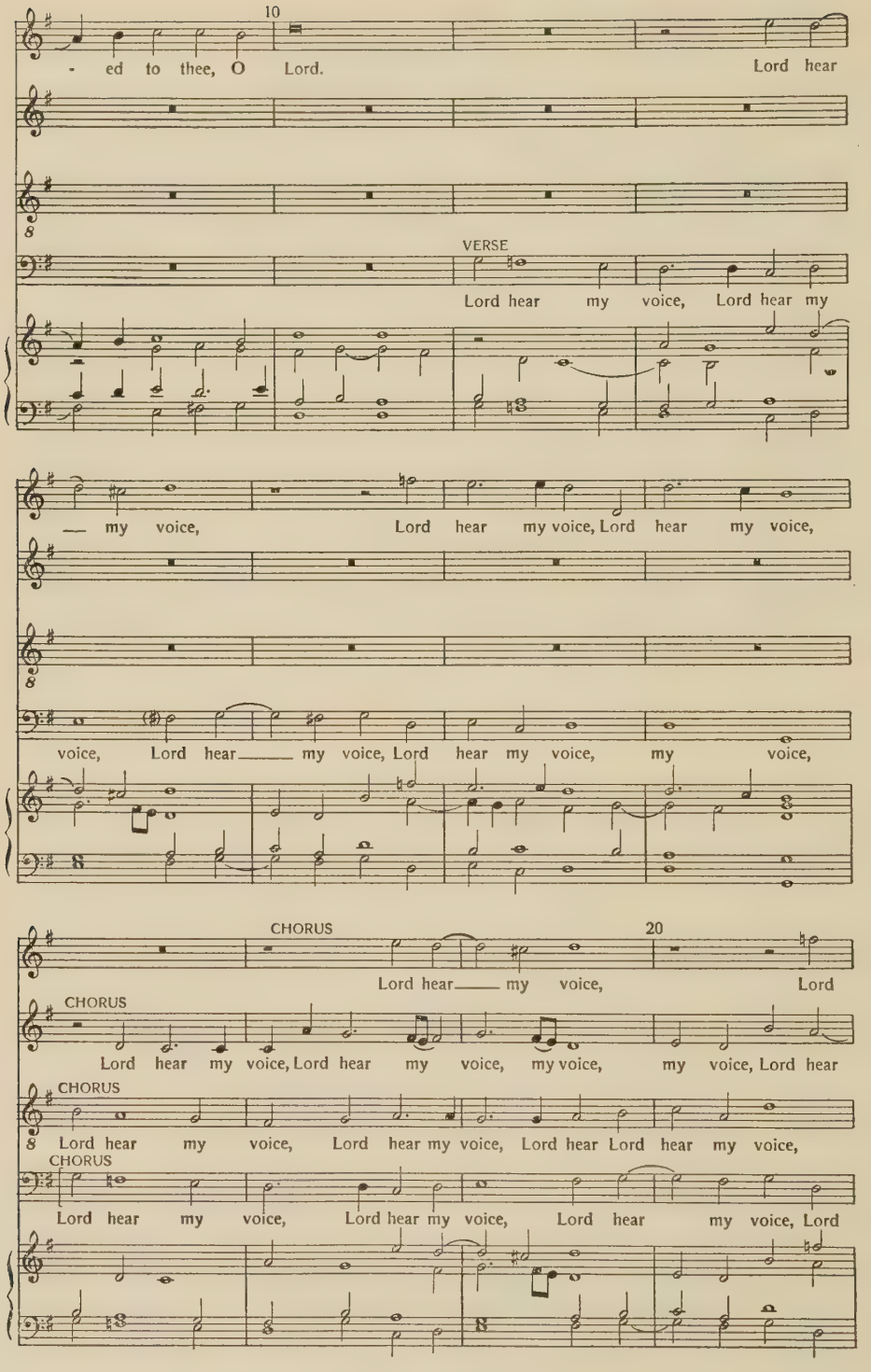
(Verse passages for S, A and B)

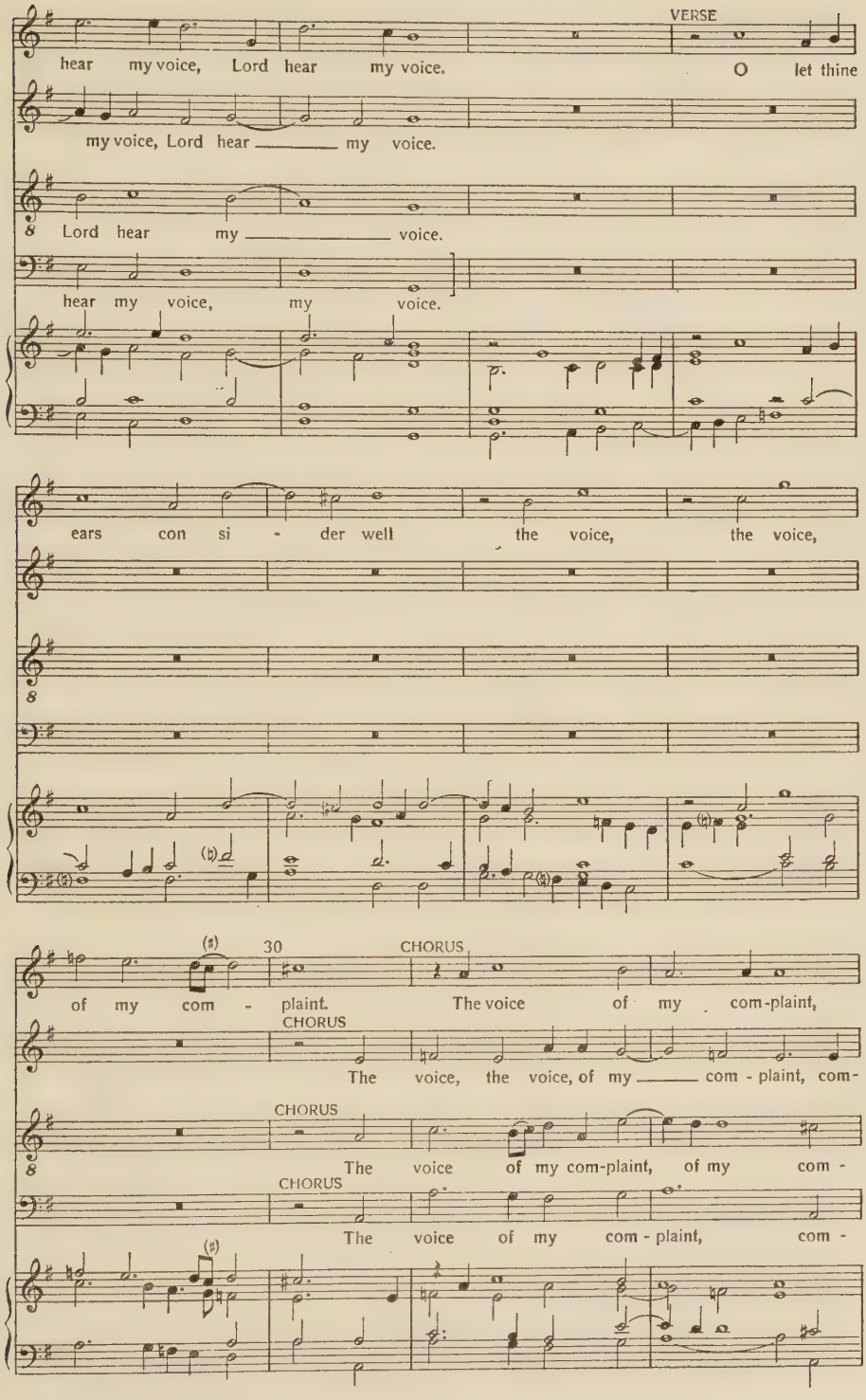
THOMAS TOMKINS

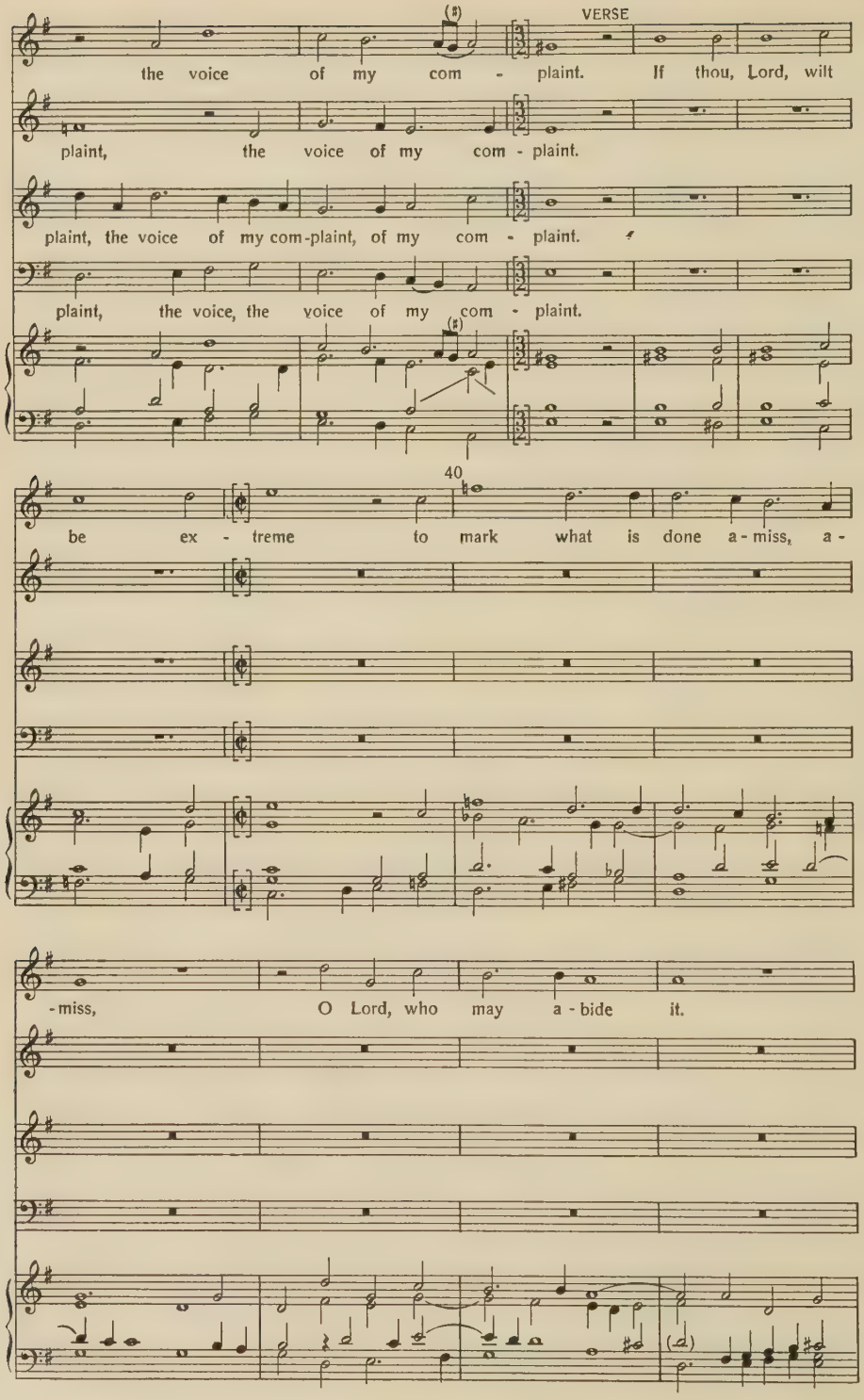


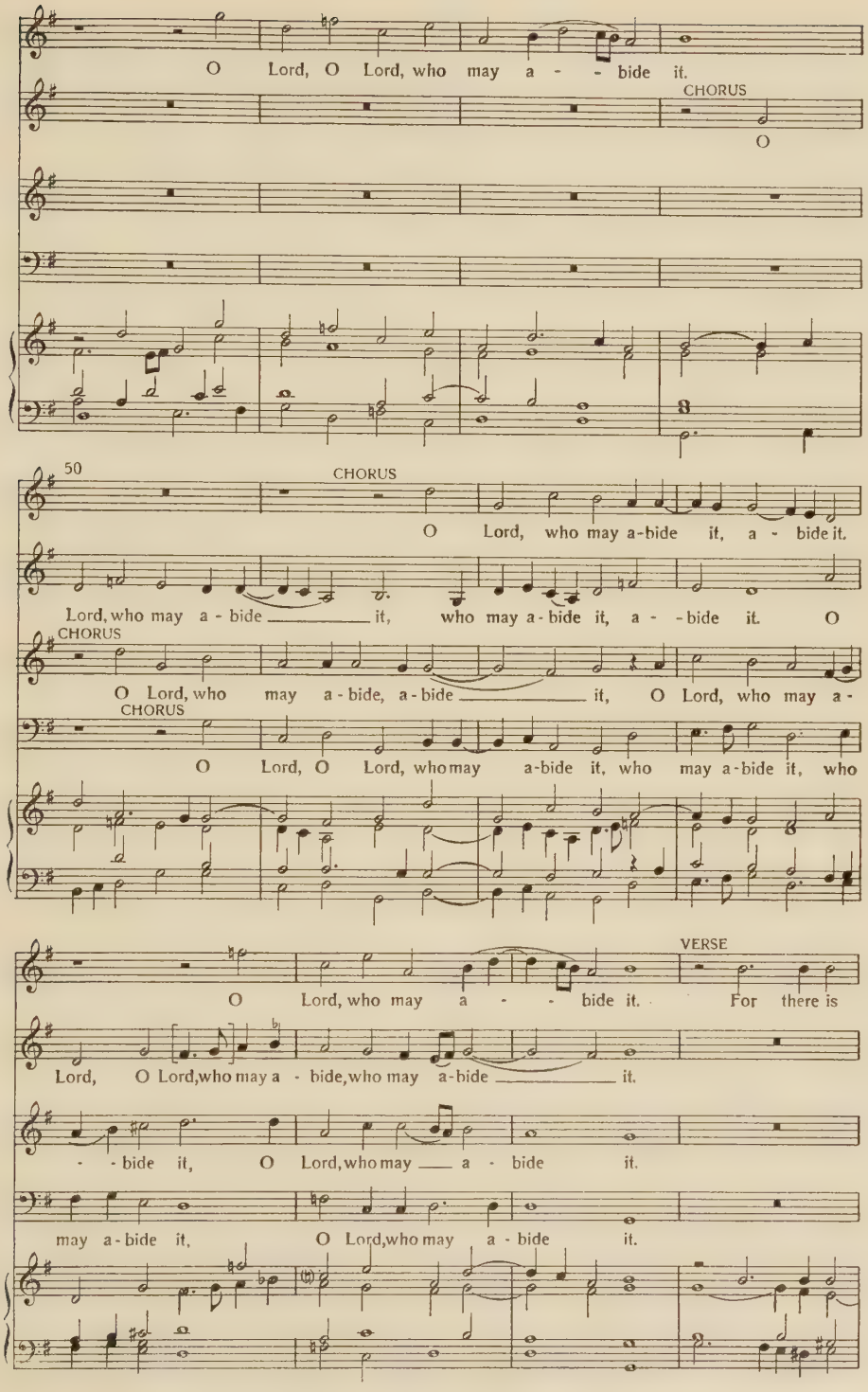


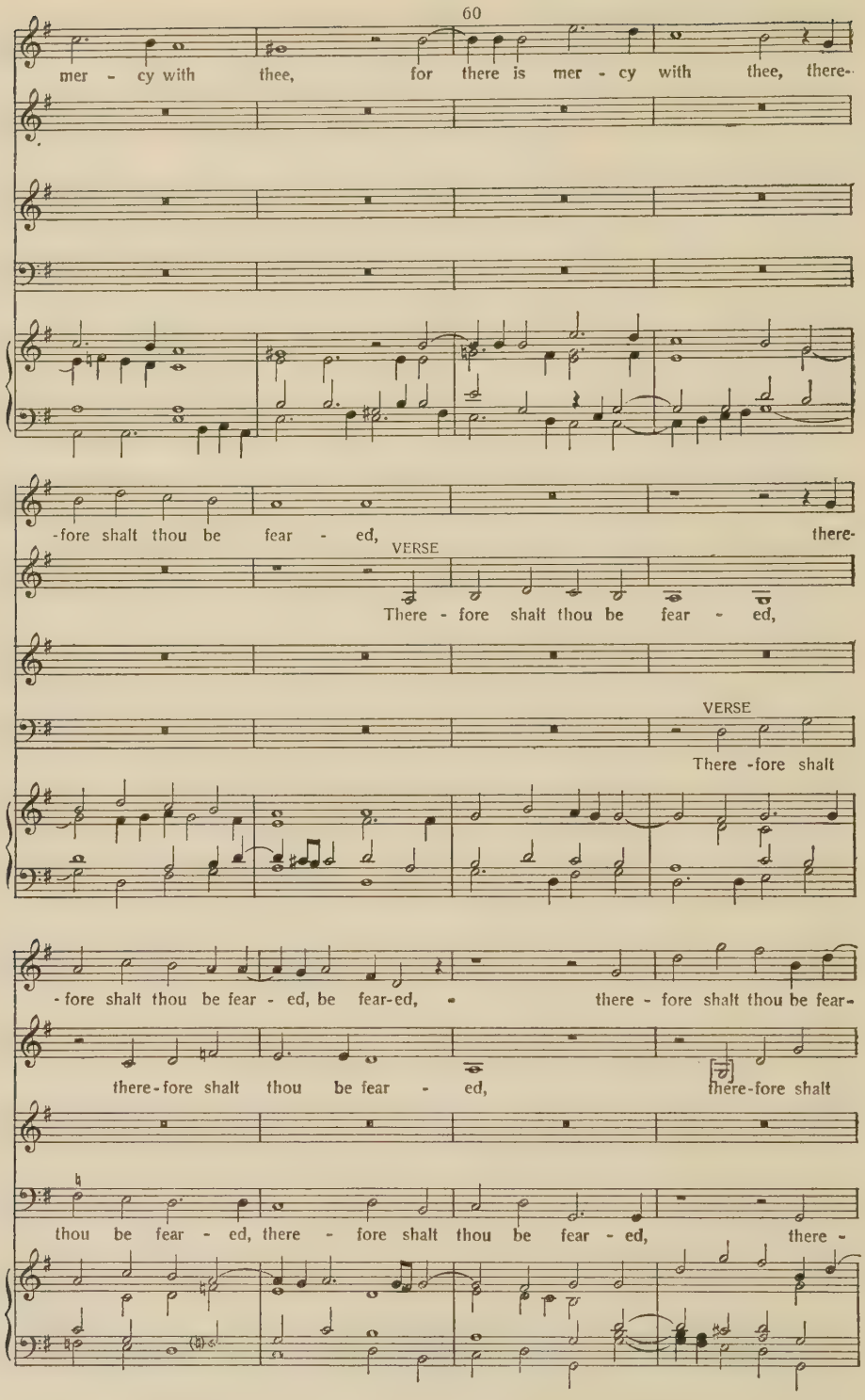
Original one tone Lower

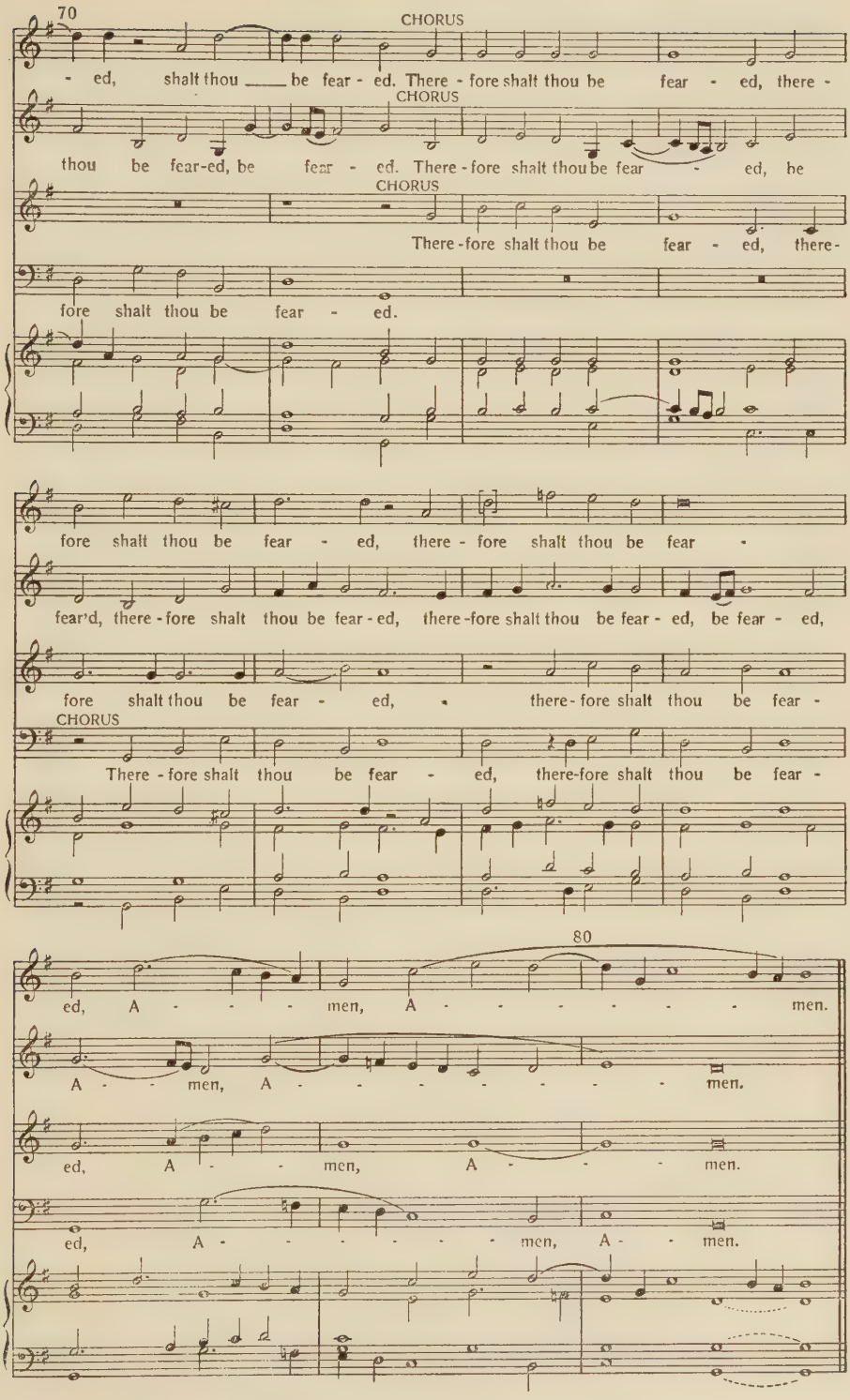

10
- ed to thee, O Lord.
Lord hear
VERSE
Lord hear my voice, Lord hear my
— my voice,
Lord hear my voice, Lord hear my voice,
voice, Lord hear — my voice, Lord hear my voice, my voice,
CHORUS
20
Lord hear — my voice,
Lord
CHORUS
Lord hear my voice, Lord hear my voice, my voice, my voice, Lord hear
CHORUS
Lord hear my voice, Lord hear my voice, Lord hear Lord hear my voice,
CHORUS
Lord hear my voice, Lord hear my voice, Lord hear my voice, Lord


VERSE
hear my voice, Lord hear my voice. O let thine
my voice, Lord hear my voice.
Lord hear my voice.
hear my voice, my voice.
ears con si - der well the voice, the voice,
30
CHORUS
of my com - plaint. The voice of my com-plaint,
CHORUS
The voice, the voice, of my com - plaint, com-
CHORUS
The voice of my com-plaint, of my com -
CHORUS
The voice of my com - plaint, com -


VERSE
the voice of my com - plaint. If thou, Lord, wilt
plaint, the voice of my com - plaint.
plaint, the voice of my com-plaint, of my com - plaint.
plaint, the voice, the voice of my com - plaint.
40
be ex - treme to mark what is done a - miss, a -
- miss, O Lord, who may a - bide it.


O Lord, O Lord, who may a - - bide it.
CHORUS
O
50
CHORUS
O Lord, who may a-bide it, a - bide it.
Lord, who may a - bide ____ it, who may a - bide it, a - - bide it. O
CHORUS
O Lord, who may a - bide, a - bide ____ it, O Lord, who may a -
CHORUS
O Lord, O Lord, who may a-bide it, who may a-bide it, who
VERSE
O Lord, who may a - - bide it. For there is
Lord, O Lord, who may a - bide, who may a-bide ____ it.
- - bide it, O Lord, who may ____ a - bide it.
may a-bide it, O Lord, who may a - bide it.


60
mer - cy with thee, for there is mer - cy with thee, there-
-fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there-
VERSE
There - fore shalt thou be fear - ed,
VERSE
There -fore shalt
-fore shalt thou be fear - ed, be fear-ed, - there - fore shalt thou be fear-
there-fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there-fore shalt
thou be fear - ed, there - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there -


70
CHORUS
- ed, shalt thou ___ be fear - ed. There - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there -
CHORUS
thou be fear-ed, be fear - ed. There - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, be
CHORUS
There - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there -
fore shalt thou be fear - ed.
fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there - fore shalt thou be fear -
fear'd, there - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, be fear - ed,
fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there - fore shalt thou be fear -
CHORUS
There - fore shalt thou be fear - ed, there-fore shalt thou be fear -
80
ed, A - - - men, A - - - - - - men.
A - - men, A - - - - - - men.
ed, A - - men, A - - - men.
ed, A - - - - - - men, A - - men.

that Psalm. The complete composite text in correct order, is as follows:

> Psalm 119, part 9, verse 1; Psalm 28, verse 7; Psalm 27, verse 7; Psalm 118, verse 14; Psalm 28, verse 9, and Psalm 30, verse 13.

Christ rising from the dead.

The text for this anthem is taken from Romans Chapter 6, verses 9, 10 and 11, and 1 Corinthians Chapter 15, verses 20, 21 and 22.

The rubric in the 1549 Prayer Book states:

> 'In the mornyng, afore Mattyns, the people beyng assembled in the Churche, these Anthems shalbe fyrste solemnely song or sayed'. . . .

Then follows the text of this anthem. The 'Alleluia' of the Prayer Book is in this particular setting replaced with 'Amen'.

Tomkins' reputation during his lifetime must have been particularly high. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that numerous manuscripts dating from that period contain contributions from the composer's prolific output. They indicate that his reputation was acknowledged in numerous parts of the country. A list of the most important of these manuscripts is given below.

1. A manuscript believed to be in the hand of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the elder (d. 1588): 2 anthems.
2. Myriell's 'Tristitae Remedium' (1616): 5 anthems.
3. A part-book belonging to 'Jarvas Jones of Oxford' (1617): 13 anthems.
4. A manuscript c. 1624: 4 anthems.
5. Batten Organ Book (1635?): 28 anthems and 5 extracts from Services.

A further guide to the composer's reputation is to be found in the poem by John Tomkins, dedicated 'to my Brother the Author', and appearing at the front of the 1622 publication of the 'Songs'.

> 'Yet thou wert mortall: now begin to live,
> And end with onely Time. Thy Muses give
> What Nature hath deny'd, Eternitie:
> Gladly my younger Muse doth honour thee,
> But mine's no praise. A large increase it has
> That's multiply'd though strong affections glad.
> Yet is thy worth the frame, and were no other
> Though as a Judge I spake, not as a Brother.
> This comfort have, this Art's so great, so free,
> None but the good can reach to censure thee'.

Even allowing for the fact that they were brothers, one feels that John was expressing in this poem the opinion of the Age.

But Tomkins' reputation by no means died with him in 1656. A manuscript dated 1664 and belonging then to George Davenport, Chaplain to John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, contains 16 anthems by Tomkins, the majority of which are verse anthems. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the 1668 publication would have taken place had there not been a certain demand for Tomkins' anthems. It has been mentioned that this publication was dedicated to the Chapel Royal and there is abundant evidence that it was used there for a considerable period. The words of a collection of 'Anthems used in the King's Chapel' during the reign of Charles II is preserved in the British Museum. This collection includes 26 anthems by Tomkins, and again the high proportion of verse anthems is noticeable. Tudway's collection (1715-20) of 'the most celebrated Services and Anthems used in the Church of England from the Reformation to the Restoration of K. Charles II. Composed by the best masters . . . .' contains 5 anthems by Tomkins.

The appearance of one or two isolated works in late 18th Century collections, such as those of Boyce and Thomas Bever, indicates that although his popularity was rapidly on the decline he was not, as yet, a forgotten composer.

From the late 18th Century until the present day, however, Tomkins' anthems have been neglected. In more recent years the five Services from 'Musica Deo Sacra' have been, to a certain extent, revived by their inclusion in the Tudor Church Music Series, edited by Dr Edmund H. Fellowes. Apart from these Services there is but a mere handful of Tomkins' vocal Church music in print. A deeper knowledge of his Services and Anthems will undoubtedly cause him to be acknowledged as one of the greatest English Church Musicians.

The existence of a number of manuscripts copied at different periods of the composer's life enables us to group his anthems to a certain extent. The following list is complete so far as can be ascertained.

No.	Anthem	Date of composition	Manuscript	Remarks
1	Know you not	1612	Tenbury 1382 [1], f. 2	Prince Henry's funeral
2	When David heard	Before 1616	London, B.M. Add. 29372-29375, f. 107 v; 29376 [2], f. 94 v	5 voc. In the 1622 'Songs'
3	Thou art my King, O God	*Idem*	*Idem* 29372-29375, f. 144 v; 29376, f. 131 v; 29377, f. 26 v; Tenbury 1382, f. 6 v; Tenbury 791 [3], ff. 59 v & 61	6 voc.
4	It is my wellbeloved's voice	*Idem*	*Idem* 29372-29375, f. 159 v; 29376, f. 146 v; 29377, f. 41 v	6 voc. In the 1622 'Songs'
5	Sing unto God	*Idem*	*Idem* 29372-29375, f. 160 v; 29376, f. 147 v; 29377, f. 42 v; Tenbury 791, f. 171	6 voc.
6	From deepest horror of sad penitence	*Idem*	*Idem* 29372-29375, f. 174 v; 29376, f. 161 v; 29377, f. 56 v	6 voc.
7	Death is swallowed up in victory	Before 1617	Tenbury 1382, f. 1	
8	Turn thou us		*Idem* f. 3; Tenbury 791, ff. 182 & 450 v	
9	Glory be to God	*Idem*	Tenbury 1382, f. 4 v; Tenbury 791, f. 180 v	
10	The Lord bless us	*Idem*	Tenbury 1382, f. 5 v; Tenbury 791, f. 174 v	
11	The Lord even the most mighty	*Idem*	Tenbury 1382, f. 7; Tenbury 791, f. 178	
12	Behold I bring	*Idem*	Tenbury 1382, f. 9 v; Tenbury 791, f. 202	
13	Lord, enter not	*Idem*	Tenbury 1382, f. 29	
14	O Lord, wipe away	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 30	

[1] Written by 'Jarvas Jones of Oxford' (1617).

[2] 'Tristitiae Remedium. Cantiones selectissime diuersorum tum authorum tum argumentorum labore et manu exarate Thomae Myriell. A.D. 1616'. The full set of part-books comprises Add. 29372-29377.

[3] The Batten Organ Book.

No.	Anthem	Date of composition	Manuscript	Remarks
15	Almighty God, the fountain	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 32	
16	Holy, holy, holy	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 33	
17	Woe is me that I am constrained	Before 1622		In the 1622 'Songs'
18	Turn unto the Lord	*Idem*		*Idem*
19	Who shall ascend (When I observe)	*Idem*		*Idem*
20	Rejoice, rejoice	c. 1624	London, B.M. Add. 17792, f. 118; 17793, f. 121v; 17794, f. 122v; 17795, f. 110v; 17796, f. 114v	The paper of this ms dates from 1624 at the earliest, but most of the anthems appear to be a decade older.
21	Give sentence	Before 1635	Tenbury 791, f. 175 v	
22	Blessed be the Lord God	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 184 v	
23	O pray for the peace	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 185	
24	Stripped of my merits	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 186 v	
25	Sweet Saviour	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 186 v	
26	Hear my prayer	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 190 & 462 v	
27	Hear, O my soul	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 191 v	
28	Above the stars	*Idem*	*Idem*, f 198	
29	Almighty and everlasting	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 199 v	Candlemas
30	Stephen being full	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 200 v	
31	Almighty and everlasting	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 203	St. Thomas
32	Almighty God	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 204 v	St. Mark
33	God which as upon this day	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 206	
34	My help cometh from the Lord	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 457	
35	Praise ye the Lord	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 458	
36	O Lord, thou hast dealt graciously	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 459	
37	O think upon thy servant	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 460 v	
38	My dwelling is above	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 461 v	
39	O Lord, grant the king	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 464	
40	My beloved spake	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 469	
41	Christ rising	*Idem*	*Idem*, f. 480 v	

No.	Anthem	Date of composition	Manuscript	Remarks
42	I was glad when they said	1625	No copy survives	Coronation anthem for Charles I recorded in the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal.
43	Strengthened be thy hand	*Idem*	*Idem*	*Idem*
44	Come, Holy Ghost	*Idem*	*Idem*	*Idem*
45	Sadok the Priest	1625	London, B.M. Harl. 6346, f. 13v	Coronation anthem recorded in the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal.
46	The king shall rejoice	*Idem*	*Idem,* f. 15	*Idem*
47	Behold, O God, our defender	*Idem*	No copy survives	*Idem*
48	Let my prayer be set forth	*Idem*	*Idem*	*Idem*
49	O hearken unto the voice	*Idem*	*Idem*	*Idem*
50	O Lord let me know mine end	See note 4 below	London, B.M. Add. 29366[4], f. 11 v; 29367-29368, f. 10v; Tenbury 1382, f. 8; Tenbury 791, f. 195 v	
51	O sing unto the Lord	*Idem*	London, B.M. Add. 29368, f. 34 v; Tenbury 1382, f. 65 v	7 voc.
52	O God, the proud	Before 1617	Tenbury 1382, f. 66 v	

A few explanatory notes are required regarding the editing of the present anthems.

In the first place it should be stated that authority for transposing the anthems is taken from Tomkins himself. At the end of the Pars Organica

[4] London, B.M. Add. 29366-29368 is believed to have been copied by Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, whose monogram appears at the end of the anthems. It seems almost incredible that 'O sing unto the Lord' should have been completed before Tomkins was seventeen years of age. At all events, these anthems were written before 1609, for in that year the manuscript was the property of John Brown, the publisher.

copy in the library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury, are to be found the following two notes:

Sit mensura duorum humani corporis pulsuum, vel globuli penduli, longitudine duorum pedum a centro motus.

Sit tonus fistulae apertae longitudine duorum pedeum et semissis, sive 30 digitorum Geomet.

The first of these notes records that Tomkins considered a normal tempo to be 𝅗𝅥 = M.M. 72. It is unlikely, however, that he adhered to this tempo rigidly. In a number of cases it would appear to be a little on the slow side.

The second is of somewhat greater significance in that it shows that the pitch at that period was a little more than a tone higher than that of the present day. In the editing of the present anthems the extent of the transposition has been determined by the range of the voice parts — some anthems being transposed up a tone, others a minor third.

Additions have been made from time to time in the organ part. This has been done, not with a view to supplying a complete short-score version of the vocal lines, but rather to provide a practical organ accompaniment for use at the Choirmaster's discretion. It is recommended, however, that the polyphonic anthems should be performed unaccompanied whenever possible. The reason for this is that unaccompanied renderings facilitate freer rhythmic singing and also avoid clashes between natural intervals and those of equal temperament. Where organ accompaniment is used the following specification of the organ built in Worcester Cathedral in 1613 will give some indication of the composer's intentions [5]:

"The particulars of the great organ
Two open diapasons of metal
CC fa ut a pipe of 10 foot long
Two principals of metal
Two Smal principals or 15ths of metal
One twelfth of metal
One recorder of metal, a stopt pipe
In the Chaire Organ
One principal of metal
One diapason of wood
One flute of wood
One small principal or fifteenth of metal
One two & Twentieth of metal."

[5] Cf. A. Freeman, 'The Organs of Worcester Cathedral', in *The Organ* V (1925).

The organ was built by the famous craftsman, Thomas Dallam.

The barring of the voice-parts is taken from that appearing in the organ book. On no account should the barline be taken to imply accentuation. Degrees of accentuation should be governed solely by the text itself. For this reason the longer bars marked in the organ part have frequently been retained even where smaller divisions are possible. Only on rare occasions have bar-lines been added. On such occasions the motive has been to assist the natural rhythmic grouping, as in 'Christ rising again'.

The time-values of the original score have been retained throughout.

ANTHEMS OF THOMAS TOMKINS

Editorial.

The Anthems have been transposed up either one tone or a minor third in accordance with Tomkins' own account of contemporary pitch (to be found at the end of the Pars Organica copy in the Library at St. Michael's, Tenbury).

[] indicate corrected misprints or rhythmic amendments or, in the case of the accompaniment, added notes to provide a full and practical accompaniment.

() indicate editorial accidentals.

Accidentals without brackets — these fall into two categories:

(i) reminders

(ii) where an accidental is indicated in the accompaniment but not in a voice part, or vice versa.

Performance.

Dynamics have been deliberately omitted. The original publication from which these anthems are taken ('Musica Deo Sacra', 1668), contains no guide as to their interpretation and it is the writer's opinion that points of interpretation should be left to the individual choirmaster rather than dictated by one editor.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the full anthems were accompanied in Tomkins' day — from time to time short independent phrases are to be found in the organ part. It is recommended, however, that in present day performance the anthems will be better unaccompanied. The equal temperament tuning of modern organs is likely otherwise to create undesirable clashes in combination with the vocal 'false-relations'.

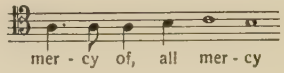
The original time-values have been preserved throughout.

Table of Amendments

Almighty and everlasting God:

Bar 3	Inner part added in accomp.
„ 7	„ „ „ „ „
„ 9—10	„ „ „ „ „
„ 14	Rhythm amended to correspond with organ part and similar grouping in bars 12 and 13.
„ 32	Inner part added in accomp.

„ 37—38 Tenor — time values corrected, originally read

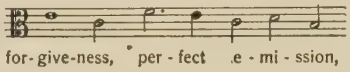


„ 40 Inner part added in accomp.

„ 40—41 (also 44) Rhythm amended to correspond with organ part and similar grouping in earlier bars.

„ 43 Tenor and Bass, beat 4 — MS reads crotchet.

„ 44—45 Appears to be miscalculation in Alto line.



This would produce consecutive unisons (Treble and Alto) with differing texts, and also a harsh clash on beats 3 and 4 (bar 45).

„ 46 Bass, beat 1 — MS reads minim.

„ 45 Treble — crotchet on beat 1 omitted.

„ 50 Tenor — MS one beat short.

„ 51 Alto — MS three beats short.

Out of the deep:

Errors in opening bars rest: Tenor 8 beats short
Alto 6 „ „
Bass 2 „ too many.

Error in Bass rest bars 16-30 indicates that the Bass line, bars 11-16, should be repeated by Chorus. Rest bars 23-30 remains 2 beats short.

Bar 25, 27 & 28 F naturals added in accomp.

„ 35—38 MS reads 3 bars of 4/2, instead of 4 bars 3/2.

„ 69 Alto beat 2 — MS reads G (untransposed).

„ 76 Treble beat 1 — MS reads A (untransposed).

O sing unto the Lord:

Bar 5 Accomp. amended to correspond with Alto line.

„ 10 and 12 Rhythm in Treble lines amended to correspond with organ part and similar grouping earlier.

„ 23—32 Numerous additions to accomp.

„ 50—81 Amendments here largely matters of 'musica ficta'.

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This list comprises publications of more or less serious nature — books, articles, editions of music — related to the period dealt with by the present periodical. It covers the year 1956, but in some instances includes works published earlier.

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